Rebuilding Anatolia after the Mongol Conquest

ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE IN THE LANDS OF RŪM, 1240–1330

Patricia Blessing

BIRMINGHAM BYZANTINE AND OTTOMAN STUDIES

An Ashgate Book

REBUILDING ANATOLIA AFTER THE MONGOL CONQUEST

This book is a study of Islamic architecture in Anatolia following the Mongol conquest in 1243. Complex shifts in rule, movements of population, and cultural transformations took place that affected architecture on multiple levels. Beginning with the Mongol conquest of Anatolia, and ending with the demise of the Ilkhanid Empire, centred in Iran, in the 1330s, this book considers how the integration of Anatolia into the Mongol world system transformed architecture and patronage in the region. Traditionally, this period has been studied within the larger narrative of a progression from Seljuk to Ottoman rule and architecture, in a historiography that privileges Turkish national identity. Once Anatolia is studied within the framework of the Mongol Empire, however, the region no longer appears as an isolated case; rather it is integrated into a broader context beyond the modern borders of Turkey, Iran, and the Caucasus republics.

The monuments built during this period served a number of purposes: mosques were places of prayer and congregation, madrasas were used to teach Islamic law and theology, and caravanserais secured trade routes for merchants and travelers. This study analyzes architecture on multiple, overlapping levels, based on a detailed observation of the monuments. The layers of information extracted from the monuments themselves, from written sources in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, and from historical photographs, shape an image of Islamic architecture in medieval Anatolia that reflects the complexities of this frontier region. New patrons emerged, craftsmen migrated between neighboring regions, and the use of locally available materials fostered the transformation of designs in ways that are closely tied to specific places. Starting from these sources, this book untangles the intertwined narratives of architecture, history, and religion to provide a broader understanding of frontier culture in the medieval Middle East, with its complex interaction of local, regional, and trans-regional identities.

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Publication is made possible in part by a grant from the Barr Ferree Foundation Fund,
Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.

Publication is supported in part by a grant from the International Center
of Medieval Art and the Samuel H. Kress Foundation.

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Islamic Architecture in the Lands of Rūm, 1240–1330

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Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2014 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

The Library of Congress has cataloged the printed edition as follows:
Blessing, Patricia.
Rebuilding Anatolia after the Mongol conquest : Islamic architecture in the lands of Rūm, 1240-1330 / by Patricia Blessing.
pages cm -- (Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman studies ; 17)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-4724-2406-8 (hardcover) 1. Islamic architecture--Turkey. 2. Mongols--Turkey--History. 3. Turkey--History--To 1453. I. Title.

NA1363.B49 2014
720.9561'09022--dc23

2014009721

ISBN 9781472424068 (hbk)

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Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to thank my teachers whose dedication and insights made it possible for me to accomplish the work in this book, and the studies leading up to it. I thank my doctoral adviser, Thomas Leisten for his support and enthusiasm during my years as a graduate student at Princeton University, and for the opportunity to work on his excavation in Balis, Syria. Nino Zchomelidse has fostered my interest in all things medieval, and pushed me to look beyond the divisions between medieval Europe, Byzantium, and Islam in my research and writing. Michael Koortbojian joined my dissertation committee towards the end of writing, supplying challenging questions that proved their value, even more so as revision of the text progressed. Gülru Necipoğlu graciously commented on my project with her expertise on Anatolia and her critical approach to the historiography of medieval Islamic art and architecture. During a semester spent at Harvard University, she and Cemal Kafadar provided platforms for my forays into medieval Anatolia. Scott Redford carefully read my dissertation, and his comments inspired many of the revisions that are reflected in this book. To Slobodan Ćurčić I am greatly indebted; he opened the doors of Byzantium for me, and gave crucial advice and encouragement. Sadly, the late Oleg Grabar did not see the final result of his comments and criticisms; many of them led me to new roads in my research, and opened my mind to unexpected conclusions.

For funding to support my work, I am grateful to the Graduate School at Princeton for a four-year graduate fellowship and for the Harold W. Dodds Honorific Fellowship. My research was supported by a Samuel H. Kress Foundation Travel Fellowship in the History of Art, and a dissertation grant from the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton. The Seeger Center for Hellenic Studies at Princeton provided a Stanley J. Seeger summer fellowship, and its executive director Dimitri Gondicas was a supportive and cheerful presence throughout my time as a graduate student. I also thank the Department of Art and Art History at the University of California, Davis, particularly Jeffrey Ruda and Heghnar Watenpaugh for giving me the opportunity to teach in their summer school. At Stanford University, the Sohaib and Sara Abbasi Program in Islamic Studies, the Stanford Humanities Center, the Department of History, and the Department of Art and Art History provided much-needed resources. Support for the publication of this book came from an

International Center of Medieval Art-Samuel H. Kress Foundation Research Award, and from the Barr Ferree Foundation Fund, Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.

Many institutions provided access to their archives without which I would not have been able to complete this project. Lorenz Korn (Otto-Friedrich Universität, Bamberg) allowed me to use images from the Erdmann slide collection. Jens Kröger at the Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin gave me access to the photographic archive and pointed me to Kurt Erdmann's diaries. Filiz Çakır-Philip and Claus-Peter Haase at the same institution answered questions on objects from Konya in the museum's collections. At the Pontificio Istituto Orientale in Rome, Vincenzo Ruggieri S.J. allowed me to work on Guillaume de Jerphanion's early twentieth-century photographs of Anatolia, even when the archive was officially closed. At the Paul Sacher Foundation in Basel, I was able to view Ernst Diez's papers at short notice. In Ankara, I thank the director and staff of the Vakıflar Arşivi and Emine Altıntaş for their help. At the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) in Istanbul, Nuran Özgenler provided images from the extensive photographic archive. I thank the staff of the İsmail Hakkı Konyalı Library in Istanbul for giving me access to the collection and adjusting their schedule to my needs. At the Fine Arts Library of Harvard University, Dr Andraś Riedlmayer and Joanne Bloom Toplyn opened the treasuries of their collections. In Princeton, the staff of Marquand Library were always ready to provide out-of-the way books, and Diane Schulte and Susan Lehre in the Art and Archaeology Department office guided me through administrative vagaries.

At Stanford University, many colleagues and friends have created an environment that allowed me to thrive. I particularly thank Shahzad Bashir, Joel Beinin, Robert Crews, Julia Erwin-Weiner, Paula Findlen, Marisa Galvez, Burcu Karahan, Burçak Keskin-Kozat, Alexander Key, Beatrice Kitzinger, Nancy Kollmann, Peter O'Connell, Bissera Pentcheva, Richard Roberts, Kathryn Starkey, Nancy Troy, Monica Wheeler, and Kären Wigen. For their support, I also thank my colleagues at the Stanford Humanities Center, particularly former director Aron Rodrigue, current director Caroline Winterer, former associate director Katja Zelljadt, and current associate director Roland Hsu.

Deniz Beyazit, Suna Çağaptay, Howard Crane, Antony Eastmond, Rachel Goshgarian, Gary Leiser, Judith Pfeiffer, Luca Pizzoccheri, Scott Redford, Nicolas Trépanier, Suzan Yalman, and Sara Nur Yıldız generously shared their work on related topics with me. At various times during the writing of my dissertation and of the book it became, Fr. Gerald Blaszczak S.J., Birgitt Borkopp-Restle, Dominic Brookshaw, Merthan Dündar, John Haldon, Renata Holod, Ömür Harmanşah, Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Amity Law, Maria Mavroudi, Robert G. Morrison, Stephennie Mulder, Oya Pancaroğlu, Oktay Özel, Leonard Schmieding, Heghnar Watenpaugh, and Sibel Zandi-Sayek provided advice. My thanks are due to all of them. At the Otto-Friedrich Universität in Bamberg, I am indebted to Lorenz Korn for first introducing me to the history of Islamic art, and to Professor emerita Rotraudt Wielandt for her rigorous teaching of classical Arabic. My colleagues at the *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* have provided wonderful team spirit and welcome distractions from the business of writing and revising.

I could not have written this book without my friends and family. My friendship with Konstantin Klein and Philipp Wirtz, reaching back to our days as undergraduates, has lasted through travels to Syria and getting our PhDs in different corners of the world. Mika Natif shared scholarly debates, a class on Islamic painting, and lots of laughs. My fellow medievalists and Islamicists at Princeton, Marius Hauknes, Francesca Leoni, Yumna Masarwa, Matthew Milliner, Mira Schwerda, Jaqueline Sturm and Nabojša Stanković shared many seminars and rare leisure time. Christina Papadimitriou and Mark Britz; Tuna and Betül Artun; Senem Arslan, and Alexander Balistreri invited me to stay at their places. Maria Andrioti, Nika Elder, Lorenz Enderlein, Giovanni Freni, Haim Goldfus, Johanna Heinrichs, Seth Hindin, and Erik Thunø were library and office companions at various times. Alessandra Ricci hosted me in Istanbul, and encouraged my early ventures into Anatolia. At Harvard, Meredith Quinn, Deniz Türker, Aslıhan Gürbüzel, Ezgi Dikici, Melis Taner, Hilal Akçal Uğurlu, Ömer Ziyal and Aleksandar Šopov shared long hours of deciphering Ottoman documents. Katherine Marsengill has become a great friend, reading many of my early dissertation drafts and providing a place to stay in New York. Maria Cristina Carile has shared many academic debates, laughs, walks through Ravenna and Istanbul, and escapes to the beach.

Deniz Coşkun provided the drawings of all the floor plans that are reproduced in this book. Phillip Schwartzberg created the maps. Sophie Schlöndorff edited the text early on. John Smedley, Emily Pace, and their team at Ashgate provided guidance throughout the publishing process, and were always ready to respond to my queries. I also thank the anonymous peer reviewer whose insightful comments did much to improve this book. Needless to say, all remaining errors are my own.

My greatest thanks are due to my mother, Christine Blessing and her partner, Markus Heiniger, for always supporting me morally and financially even if my studies and research took me far away from them. My grandparents, Hans and Marianne Trost, my uncle Stephan Trost and his family, and my cousin, Zahra Trovatori always provide welcome breaks from academia. Throughout my work on this project, my husband, Ali Yaycıoğlu, has been my greatest support, encouraging me to think outside the box, challenging me intellectually, and providing emotional backing. His extended family has made Turkey a second home: Rezan and Alaettin Yaycıoğlu; Zeynep Baltalı; Sevil Baltalı-Tırpan and S. Tuluğ Tırpan with their son Deniz; Saime Bicirik; Yasemin Biricik-Tüjümet; Hüsnü Coşkun and his daughter Derya; Annette and Haydar Coşkun; Deniz Coşkun; Meliha Coşkun-Yıldar and Canbek Yıldar with their children Mina and Onat; Sevgi and Hayri Karay with their daughter Almila, and many other members of the extended family have supported my research in Turkey and made life in general much more pleasant. I thank them all.

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List of abbreviations

BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.*
Erdmann, *Tagebücher*	Kurt Erdmann Archive, Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, *Tagebücher 1951–1958*, 37 volumes of unpublished handwritten diaries (in German) concerning the travels of Erdmann and his wife Hanna Erdmann in Anatolia, 1951–8.
IJMES	*International Journal of Middle East Studies.*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient.*
MCIA	Max van Berchem and Halil Edhem (Eldem), *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum: Troisième Partie: Asie Mineure*, Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 29. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1917.
METU JFA	*Middle East Technical University, Journal of the Faculty of Architecture.*
RCEA	Etienne Combe, Jean Sauvaget and Gaston Wiet (eds) *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, 18 vols., Cairo: Imprimerie de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1931–1996.
TOEM	*Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası.*
VGM	Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi, Ankara.
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

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Note on transliteration

In transliterating Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish, I have largely followed the guidelines suggested by the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (*IJMES*).[1] An exception are the letters *'ayn* and *hamza*, which I transliterated as 'for *'ayn* and' for *hamza*, respectively.

Words that have entered English usage, such as madrasa, ulema, Sufi and kadi are not italicized. Place names that are current in English usage (e.g. Baghdad, Konya, Tabriz) are spelled without transliteration. Personal names are fully transliterated (e.g. 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Juwaynī). Mongolian names and terms are rendered in a transliteration that corresponds to their use in Persian or Arabic (e.g. Uljāytū, Ghāzān Khān, *yarlīgh, tamghā*). Except in direct quotations from primary sources, Anglicized plurals are used throughout (e.g. *waqfiya*s, *madhhab*s rather than *waqfīyāt*, *madhāhib*). Simplified modern Turkish spelling is used for the names of monuments located in Anatolia (e.g. Şifaiye Medrese rather than Shifā'īya Madrasa or Şifaiye Medresesi, and Karatay Medrese rather than Qaraṭāy Madrasa or Karatay Medresesi).

Dates, where available, are given according to the Muslim calendar, followed by the Common Era date (e.g. 670/ 1271–72). To improve clarity, centuries are indicated according to the Common Era only (e.g. thirteenth century rather than seventh/ thirteenth century).

[1] The transliteration chart is available at http://ijmes.ws.gc.cuny.edu/files/2014/04/TransChart.pdf, accessed 27 May 2014.

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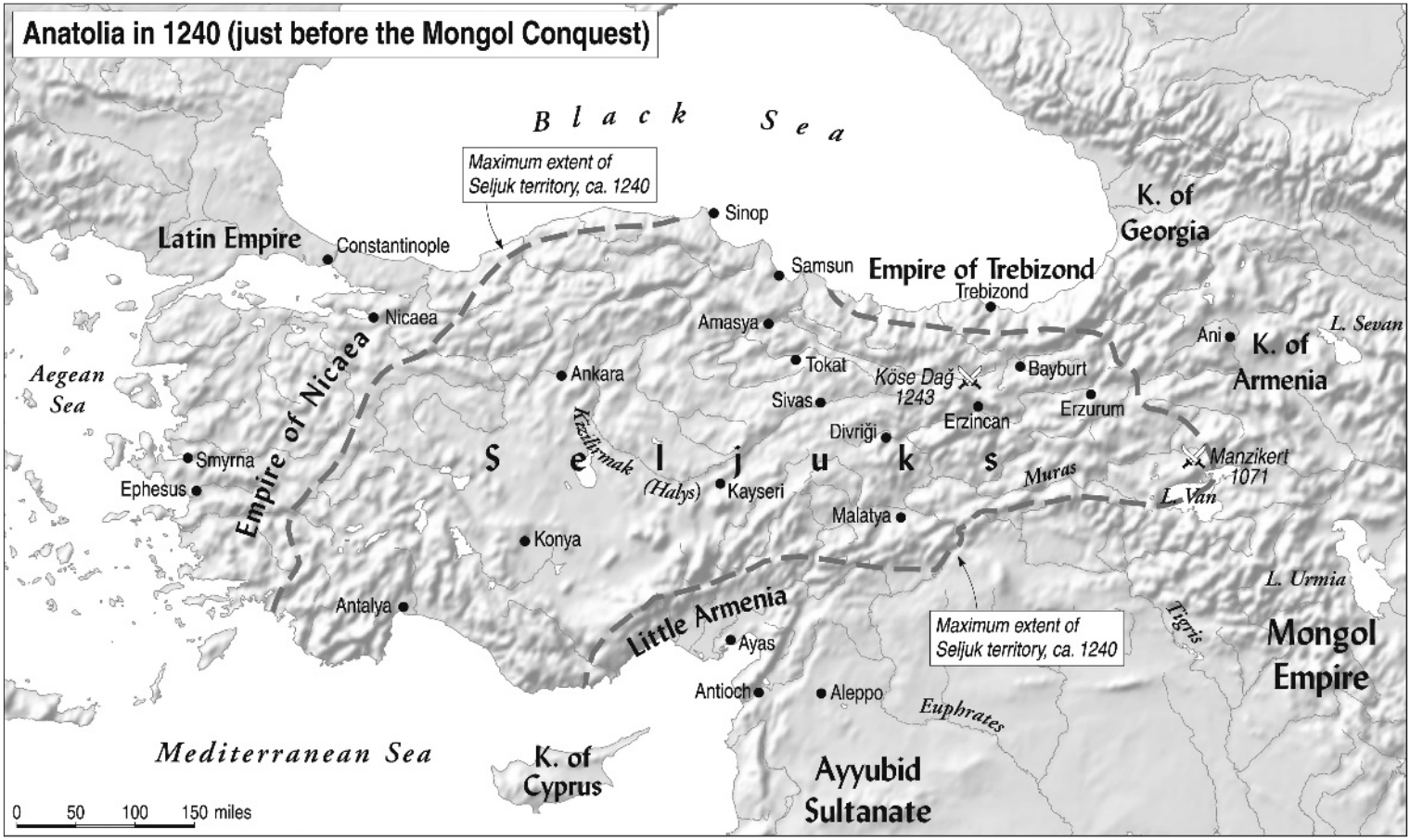
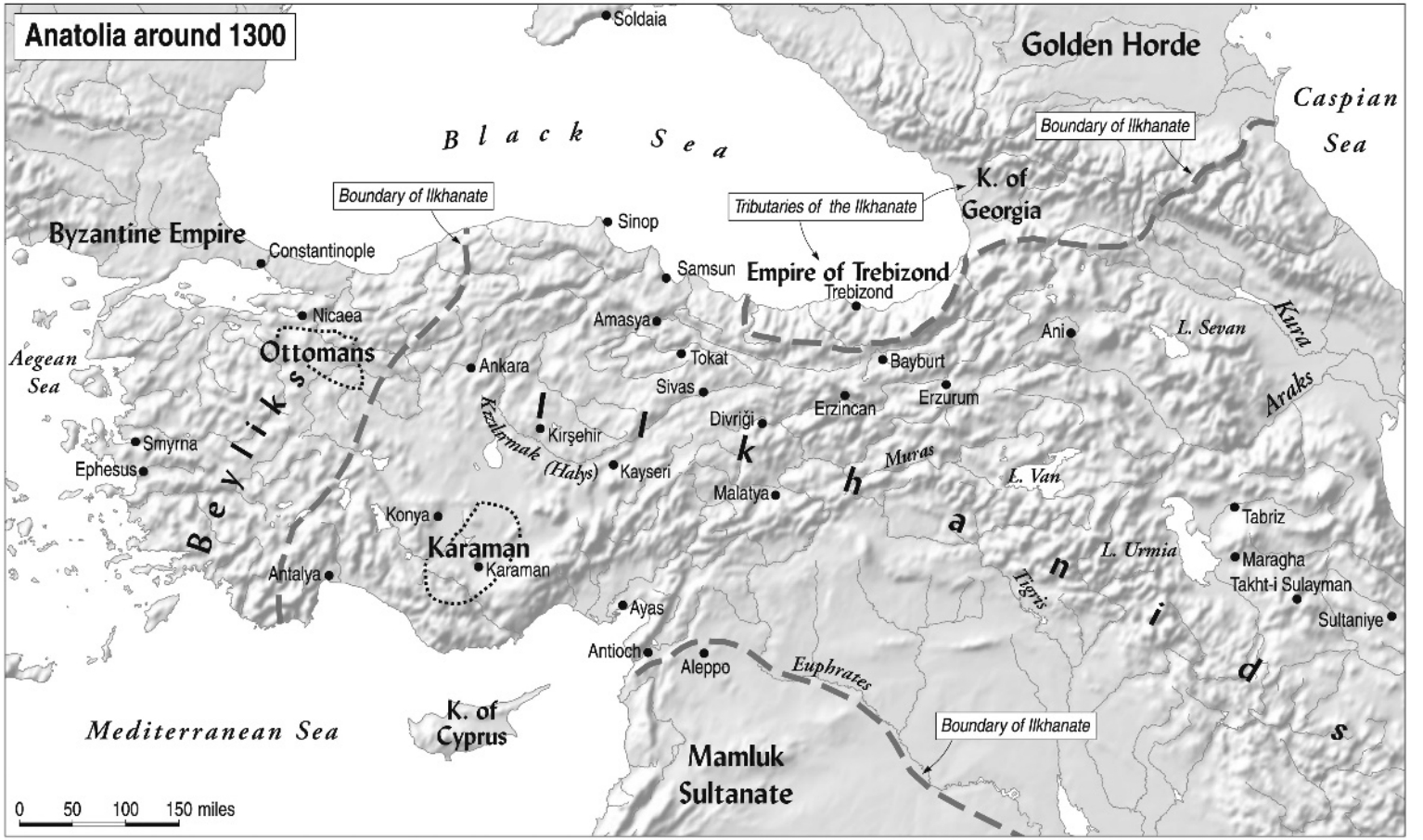
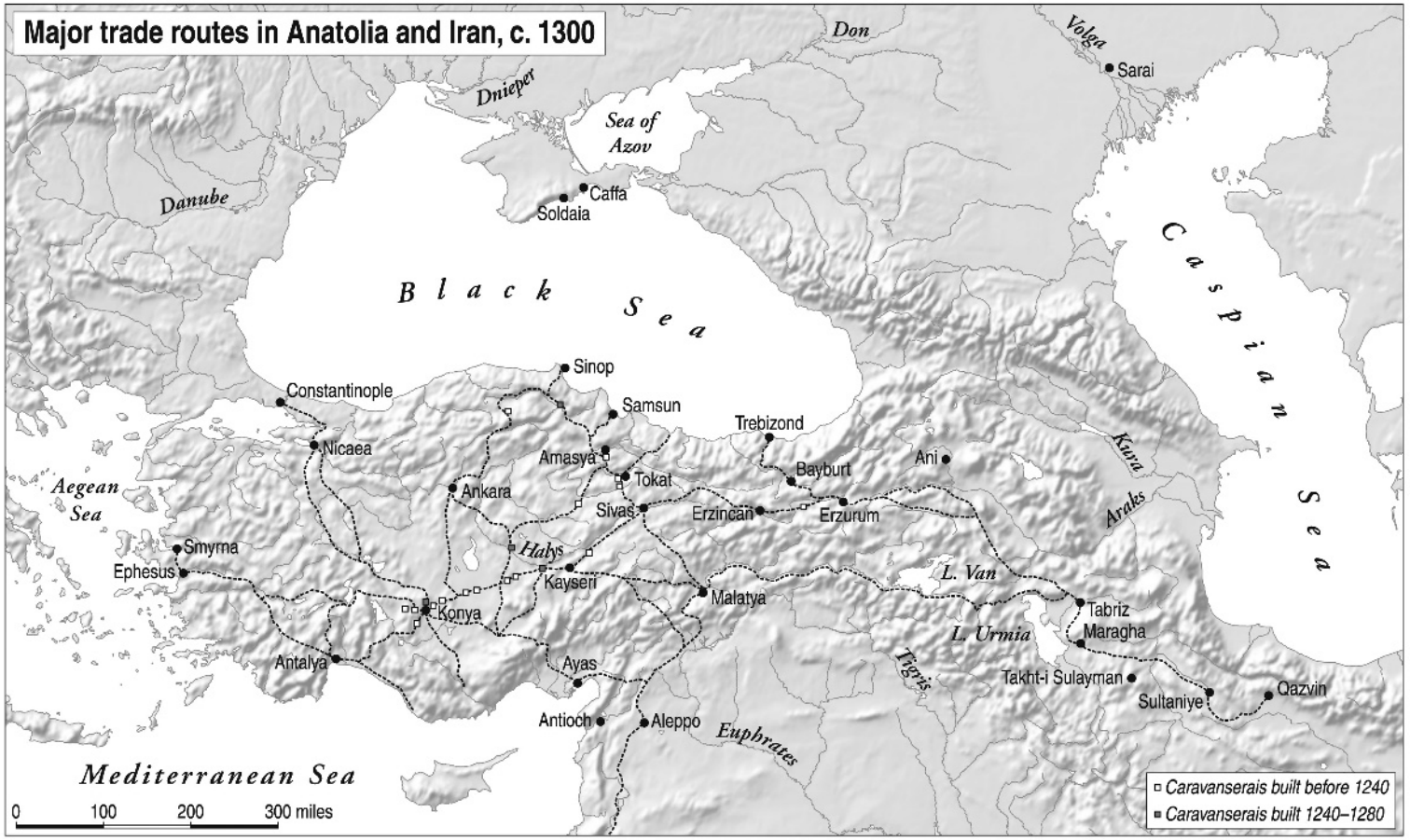


1 Anatolia in 1240, just before the Mongol conquest. Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping



2 Anatolia around 1300. Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping



3 Major trade routes in Anatolia and Iran, c. 1300. Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping

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Introduction: Reframing the lands of Rūm

This book is a study of Islamic architecture in Anatolia (roughly present-day Turkey) after the Mongol conquest of the region in 639/ 1243. The complex shifts in rule, population movements, and cultural transformations that took place at the time affected architecture on multiple levels. When the Mongol empire broke up into four distinct, if interdependent, realms (the Ilkhanate, the Golden Horde, the Chaghatay Khanate, and the Yuan dynasty) beginning in the 1250s, Anatolia became part of the Ilkhanid realm with its center in Tabriz in western Iran.[1] Beginning with the conquest of Anatolia by Mongol armies in the middle of the thirteenth century, and ending with the decline of the Mongol Ilkhanid Empire centered in Iran in the 1330s, this book considers how the integration of Anatolia into the Mongol world system transformed architecture and patronage in the region.

Traditionally, this period has been studied within the larger narrative of a progression from Seljuk to Ottoman architecture, in the context of a historiography that privileges Turkish national identity. Only in recent years has a critical body of scholarship emerged that establishes a new framework for medieval Anatolia, with a fresh view of the underlying historiographical issues and national narratives. By establishing a particular sense of place, medieval Anatolian architecture reflects the complexities of the region in this particular historical moment and discredits the standard narrative of a unified dynastic style. Seen in this context, Anatolia appears both as a distinctive geographic entity with features particular to this region and as a place closely connected to larger neighboring territories such as the Caucasus, northern Syria, and western Iran. Studying the architecture of medieval Anatolia within the wider context of the Mongol imperial umbrella, I will show that, far from being a singular, isolated case, it is an integral part of a broader framework that reaches beyond the borders of modern Turkey to include Iran and the Caucasus republics of Armenia and Georgia.

According to the established narrative, the fragmentation of Anatolia into small principalities (*beylik*s in Turkish) in the course of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries came directly after two centuries of Seljuk rule that began in

[1] For an overview on the dynastic history of the Ilkhanids, see: Reuven Amitai, "Il-Khanids, i: Dynastic History," in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/il-khanids-i-dynastic-history, accessed 28 November 2013.

the late eleventh century. Yet a closer examination of the historical context shows that this fragmentation is actually the result of a process that began earlier, with the weakening of Seljuk rule at the hands of the Mongols in the second half of the thirteenth century. At the architectural level, political events rarely resulted in stylistic changes that can be directly associated with particular shifts in power. Rather, the processes were more complex, involving not only changes in rulership but also, even more importantly, the development of cultural networks between Anatolia and surrounding regions. Another essential factor in the discussion of local and cross-regional styles is the prevailing mobility of workshops, with craftsmen from various areas and regions traveling to those sites where patronage was available, in particular in the early thirteenth century.

These craftsmen, who came to Anatolia (at first mostly to the Seljuk capital of Konya) from regions as far-flung as northern Syria, Iran, and Central Asia, brought with them skill-sets and design principles that, over time, were adapted to locally available materials. New designs and techniques emerged from the synergies created when skilled workers from different regions, with various skills and knowledge of materials such as stone, stucco, tile, and wood, gathered in new workshops together with local craftsmen. The imported and local forms were the basis for highly skilled work, shaping architecture that is stylistically diverse, just as the historical context of Anatolia that produced it is complex. Therefore, stylistic analysis and close observation of monuments is useful in understanding the presence of the same or related workshops on different building sites, even though the written sources hardly ever address craftsmen and their work practices.

The few signatures of builders, stone-carvers, and carpenters that can be found on buildings and mosque furniture in medieval Anatolia show the diverse origins of craftsmen, but do not tell us anything about workshop structure. Nor do they, in many cases, explain the place of a certain figure within the construction process. As I will discuss further in Chapter 2, the identification of different, if similar, signatures with one (historically not otherwise documented) person stylized as a master builder is problematic. It suits a tendency in the history of Islamic art to look for builders and craftsmen who can be named, perhaps following a Renaissance model in which, at least since Vasari, the artist and his (rarely her) biography are central.[2] I will eschew the attempt to attribute monuments to a specific master builder or architect, and rather pay attention to the ways in which close stylistic analysis can show how, in medieval Anatolia, workshops moved from one city to another, from one building site to the next, and how different sub-groups of the same workshop could be employed on several parallel construction projects. Thus, the attention paid to details of decoration and construction will allow me both to challenge the myth of the master builder and to demonstrate that several, distinct workshops could collaborate on one and the same building site. Moreover, this will also allow me to reevaluate the relationship between patrons and workshops. We will see that the notion of exclusive employment of one workshop for a singular patron at one time (perhaps related to the extensive evidence for imperial workshops in the

[2] See, for instance: Leo Ary Mayer, *Islamic Architects and their Works*, Geneva: A. Kundig, 1956.

sixteenth-century Ottoman empire) does not apply in thirteenth-century Anatolia. The same workshop could work for the sultan and one of his notables in Konya (as shown in Chapter 1), while in Sivas, a patron from Anatolia and one from Iran, despite their different political affiliations, commissioned the same workshop for parts of the buildings they had constructed (as we will see in Chapter 2). Thus, even though historical events influenced who was able to commission monuments (both in financial and political terms), and made a certain city more or less attractive for the highly mobile workshops of the time, they did not necessarily determine architectural style. As I will show throughout this book, the integration of Anatolia into the Mongol empire fostered local styles, influenced much more by the continued presence and mobility of different workshops, and their use of local techniques and materials, than by the political realities of the day. At the same time, patterns of patronage profoundly changed because of the political and economic shifts of the period, affecting the types, scale, and location of the monuments that were built.

Hence, while challenging the assumption that an exclusive correlation between architecture (and its style) and a given political power exists, I shift attention to the monuments themselves, using them as crucial sources for the cultural and economic dynamics of the time. Within this framework, monuments are points of reference for larger socio-cultural developments that are tied to a specific place, Anatolia, and to specific sites within it, namely the cities in which these monuments were built. The idea of a geography of art, with its attention to cross-regional networks, is part of the broader attempt to move beyond a narrowly defined geographical unit.[3] The term "lands of Rūm" in the subtitle of this book roots my study in the cultural geography of the region—part Roman by way of Byzantium, part Islamic by way of the Arabic term for the Byzantine realm. "Rūm" refers at once to Rome, Byzantium, and Anatolia while the adjective "Rūmī" can mean Greek, Byzantine, Anatolian, or Ottoman—to name just a few of a whole range of nuances.[4]

The term "lands of Rūm" thus alludes to core concepts that are at issue throughout this book: mobility, frontier, and geography. During the period of the Mongol conquests, which began in Central Asia in the 1220s and rapidly moved on to Iran, Anatolia, despite its frontier character, initially became a comparatively attractive destination for refugees, including scholars and craftsmen. When the Mongol armies reached Anatolia in the third decade of their conquests, however, the region's position as a frontier was redefined. It was now also at the western edge of the Mongol realm, and no longer exclusively a borderland between Christianity and Islam. The notions of frontier and frontier culture are essential to any study of medieval Anatolia, especially after Cemal Kafadar's influential book on the genesis

[3] Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Towards a Geography of Art*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004.

[4] Sibel Bozdoğan and Gülru Necipoğlu, "Entangled discourses: scrutinizing Orientalist and nationalist legacies in the architectural historiography of the 'Lands of Rum'," *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 1–6; Cemal Kafadar, "A Rome of One's Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum," *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 7–25; for studies involving cultural geography, see also: Deniz Beyazit (ed.) *At the Crossroads of Empires—14th–15th-century Eastern Anatolia: Proceedings of the International Symposium held in Istanbul, 4th–6th May 2007*, Paris: De Boccard, 2012; Suzan Yalman, "Building the Sultanate of Rum: Religion, Urbanism and Mysticism in the Architectural Patronage of 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad (r. 1220–1237)," PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2011.

of the Ottoman Empire and its *ghāzī* culture.[5] The latter term, related to the *ghazā* (Muslim warriors' efforts to secure territories for their own profit as much as for Islam), was essential to the initial Seljuk conquest of Anatolia in the late eleventh century, but also later on, when the relationship between urban and rural, and sedentary and nomadic, milieus was a constant renegotiation.

The region's inherent instability, along with the fluid identity and mobility of its populations is essential to understanding Anatolia, which experienced constant upheaval, dotted with occasional islands of stability, throughout the Middle Ages. Yet a frontier is not just an empty area waiting to be filled. Rather, it represents a space in which newcomers (be they conquerors or refugees) and locals have to negotiate the terms of politics, religion, and culture. Along these lines, Engseng Ho, in his insightful study of the genealogies of *sayyid* families (the Arabic term for families that count themselves among the descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad) in medieval and early modern Yemen, and of the Yemeni diaspora in Southeast Asia, evoked the frontier as a concept not of emptiness, but of cultural exchange.[6] Thus, frontier lands are not *terrain vague*, devoid of human settlement and culture, vague both in character and in terms of their lack of spatial definition. Rather, the frontier is a frontier only for the culture that enters, whereas for the people(s) already present, it remains what it always was: their home.

In the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the Seljuk court of Konya provided a few decades of relative stability (see Map 1), allowing for great technical feats and aesthetic accomplishments in architecture in the early decades of the thirteenth century. The city was under constant construction, in particular during the rule of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād (r. 616–36/ 1220–37), who restored the Seljuk capital to its glory after the temporary threat of conquest during the Third Crusade in 1190.[7] This period of Seljuk consolidation and centralization, when Konya was the capital and focus of patronage together with the surrounding region, has received the most scholarly attention, and is also the focus of the most extensive contemporary chronicle of Seljuk rule in Anatolia, Ibn Bībī's *al-Avāmir al-'alā'iyya fī 'l-'umūr al-'alā'iyya*.[8]

Nevertheless, the prevalent frontier culture of the region subtly affected these projects: the architecture remained the result of combining and shifting styles, eclectically bringing together seemingly disparate elements. In keeping with the frontier character so intrinsic to the region's identity, the budding of a relatively centralized Seljuk realm did not immediately result in a stylistic unity directly linked to the royal patronage. If such a unifying tendency was visible to some extent in the 1220s, the Mongol takeover a mere two decades later put an end to it, privileging local styles instead. It is this later period, from the 1240s to the 1330s, that is the

[5] Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995.

[6] Engseng Ho, *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean,* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006. On frontier contexts in medieval Islamic art and architecture, see: F. Barry Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009.

[7] For more about this patron, see: Yalman, "Building the Sultanate of Rum"; Suzan Yalman, "Ala al-Din Kayqubad Illuminated: A Rum Seljuq Sultan as Cosmic Ruler," *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 151–86.

[8] Primary sources are discussed in the eponymous sub-section below.

focus of this book, which aims to paint a multifaceted picture of the patronage and architecture that emerged in several key cities in central Anatolia during this period (see Map 2).

This attention to specific places in particular historical moments has led me to move beyond the study of one single category of monuments, either religious or 'secular', to the extent that the latter term is valid for the period studied here. Thus, while many studies of the architecture of medieval Anatolia focus on one type of monument (mosques, madrasas, or caravanserais, for instance), I have chosen instead to concentrate on particular cities and to study the extant monuments from the period discussed here. The monuments in and of themselves say a lot about patterns of patronage from the 1240s to the 1330s, the decades that I focus on. If hardly any mosques are discussed in this book, it is because most mosques in Anatolia were built quite soon after the Seljuk conquest, throughout the twelfth century. Madrasas, on the other hand, were popular objects of patronage throughout the thirteenth century, and particularly after 1240, for reasons that are further discussed in Chapters 1, 2, and 3. Similarly, many monuments (various called *khānqāh*s, *zāwiya*s, or dervish lodges) related to the ritual and daily needs of Sufi communities were built in this period. They reflect the religious milieu of the time, including the relationship between Sufis and ulema (discussed particularly in Chapters 1 and 4). At the secular level, caravanserais were important for the functioning of trade networks ever since Anatolia was integrated into the broader Islamic world and, clearly, the monuments commissioned by the Seljuk sultans in central Anatolia in the 1220s and 1230s continued to function into the fourteenth century. At the same time, shifting trade routes that came with the increased connections to Iran and the Black Sea region from the 1290s (discussed in Chapter 4) onwards led to the construction of caravanserais in north-eastern Anatolia, a region that was never central during the apogee of Seljuk rule. Here, the economic integration of Anatolia into the Ilkhanid realm can be seen best, just as it is in the Ilkhanid coins minted in the region in the early fourteenth century and in tax inscriptions applied to monuments at the same time.

This leaves the question of palaces, a type of monument that I do not discuss in this study for lack of evidence. None of the Seljuk palaces are fully extant; the ones that have been excavated, most notably the palace of Kubādabād, located on an island in Lake Beyşehir, date to the 1220s and earlier.[9] Nothing remains of the mansions that the powerful patrons of the 1240s to 1280 presumably had. The Ilkhanids, with their center in Iran, had no interest in building palaces in Anatolia, a fact owed also to the peripatetic nature of the court, still rooted in a nomadic lifestyle.[10] Summer and winter camps existed in different parts of the Ilkhanid realm—one of the summer camps, Alātāgh, was in fact located in the vicinity of Lake Van in eastern Anatolia.[11]

[9] Katharina Otto-Dorn, "Bericht über die Grabung in Kobadabad Oktober 1966," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 84 (1969): 438–506; Katharina Otto-Dorn and Mehmet Önder, "Bericht über die Grabung in Kobadabad (Oktober 1965)," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 81 (1966): 170–83; Rüçhan Arık, *Kubad Abad—Selçuklu Saray ve Çinileri*, Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2000.

[10] Charles Melville, "The Itineraries of Sultan Öljeitü, 1304–16," *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 28 (1990): 55–70.

[11] Melville, "The Itineraries:" 58.

Thus, the monuments presented in this study reflect the types of buildings that were in particularly in demand at any given time in a specific location, often owing to a particular local context. Hence, as I will argue throughout this book, medieval Anatolia has to be treated as a place in which architecture is closely tied to local dynamics and workshops, much more so than to the broader imperial dynamics of Mongol, and later Ilkhanid, rule. At the same time, the historical, economic, and cultural context did affect the dynamics of patronage, movements of workshops, and financial means—conditions that, in turn, transformed architecture.

The study of the architecture of empire, and of architecture as the expression of an empire's aspiration to unify its realm in one cultural and stylistic sphere, is of course justified in many cases, especially for the early modern empires of the Islamic world, including the Ottomans and Safavids. The architecture of Ilkhanid Iran and of Mamluk Egypt and Syria during the Middle Ages—in particular the way in which these two dynasties competed for monumentality—can also be seen in terms of unified, empire-wide building campaigns.[12] In the case of medieval Anatolia, as I will demonstrate in detail throughout this book, architecture became increasingly localized under the Mongol imperial umbrella—an observation that pertains to patrons of various categories, including the Ilkhanid governors. Seen in this light, medieval Anatolia is no longer an isolated unit that developed its own idiosyncratic architectural styles. Thus, as I argue, the region emerges as part of a larger network of economic and cultural exchange that included Iran and the Caucasus. Though the dynamics of Ilkhanid patronage evolved in various directions they nevertheless remained connected to the overall system of the Mongol empire as a site for the exchange of commodities, as Thomas Allsen has argued.[13]

The revitalization of trade networks reflected the impact of economic reforms introduced under Ghāzān Khān (r. 694–704/ 1295–1304), after his conversion to Islam.[14] These networks, visible on the ground in the rare remains of caravanserais built in Armenia and western Iran in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, were connected to those in Anatolia, where the Seljuk sultans had already begun to establish an infrastructure for trade in the 1220s. While the Seljuk network of caravanserais was particularly strong in the region of Konya, and in connecting the ports of the Mediterranean to the Black Sea, it shifted eastwards after the Mongol conquest.[15] Throughout this period, Sivas remained a hub for commerce due to its location at the intersection of trade routes, and it continued to rise in importance in the second half of the thirteenth century. The Ilkhanid investment in these trade

[12] Gülru Necipoğlu, "Challenging the Past: Sinan and the Competitive Discourse of Early Modern Islamic Architecture," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 169–80; Bernard O'Kane, "Monumentality in Mongol and Mamluk Architecture," *Art History* 19, no. 4 (1996): 499–522.

[13] Thomas Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: a Cultural History of Islamic Textiles*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

[14] George Ioan Brătianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la Mer Noire au XIIIe siècle*, Paris: P. Geuthner, 1929; Virgil Ciociltân, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012.

[15] Andrew C.S. Peacock, "Black Sea Trade and the Islamic World down to the Mongol Period," in: Gülden Erkut and Stephen Mitchell (eds) *The Black Sea: Past, Present and Future, proceedings of the international, interdisciplinary conference, Istanbul, 14–16 October 2004*, London: British Institute at Ankara and Istanbul: Istanbul Technical University, 2007: 65–72.

systems, through remonetization and fostering Black Sea trade, connected Anatolia with the caravanserai network of Iran (see Map 3). Cities like Erzurum, one of the case studies in this book, benefitted from these new opportunities.[16] Thus, while trade and caravanserais are secondary to this study that focuses on the urban centers that emerged and were reshaped during the period under investigation here, they are nonetheless an important part of the background for this transformation.

Anatolia, from Seljuk to Mongol rule

A detailed introduction to events, historical figures, and sources—necessary for understanding the complex historical context of the period—is provided below and referenced throughout the following chapters. The initial conquest of Asia Minor by Turkic forces arriving from Iran began under the command of the Great Seljuk sultan Alp Arslan (r. 455–65/ 1063–73), initiating the Islamization of Anatolia. When Alp Arslan's forces began to move into Anatolia, the Byzantine emperors were struggling to hold on to the eastern parts of the region.[17] Nevertheless, the defeat of Romanos IV Diogenes (r. 1068–71) at Manzikert (Malazgirt), and the emperor's captivity and subsequent death, came as a shock, even though recent research suggests that it may have been the culmination of the Byzantines' gradual loss of control over much of Anatolia, which had begun as early as the 1040s.[18] These conquests caused considerable upheaval as power constantly shifted back and forth between the Seljuks and the Byzantines, as well as between the Turkic groups and their Turcoman affiliates.[19] Though a fragile peace was achieved occasionally, the Byzantine defeat at the battle of Myriokephalon in 571/ 1176 forced Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143–80) to cede large parts of central and eastern Anatolia to the Seljuks.

Over the following decades, military leaders who had initially come to the region with the Great Seljuk armies progressively conquered large parts of eastern and central Anatolia, and began to establish their own proto-states based on complex

[16] Wolfram Kleiss, *Karawanenbauten in Iran*, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1996, vol. 1: 11–12 and Figs. 1, 3, 4; Donald Newton Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran—the Il-Khanid Period*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1955: 37 and cat. nos. 85, 89, 90.

[17] The standard historical survey of the period in English remains Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: a general survey of the material and spiritual culture and history c. 1071–1330*, tr. J. Jones-Williams, London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1968; some footnotes were reconstructed posthumously from Cahen's notes for a French edition: Claude Cahen, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, Varia Turcica, Istanbul: Dıvıt Matbaacılık ve Yayıncılık, 1988. The most recent English edition is a translation of the French version: Claude Cahen, *The Formation of Turkey: the Seljukid Sultanate of Rūm: eleventh to fourteenth century*, tr. and ed. P.M. Holt, Harlow, England, and New York: Longman, 2001. In Turkish, the standard work is: Osman Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye: siyasî tarih Alp Arslan'dan Osman Gazi'ye, 1071–1318*, eighth edition, Istanbul: Ötüken, 2004 (first published in 1971).

[18] Andrew C.S. Peacock, *Early Seljūq History—A new interpretation*, London and New York: Routledge, 2010: 5; on the treatment of this battle in medieval Arabic, Persian, and Greek sources, see: Carole Hillenbrand, *Turkish Myth and Muslim Symbol—The Battle of Manzikert*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007.

[19] Turkic: generally, Turkish-speaking; Turcoman: term used to designate nomadic groups of Turkic heritage that were often difficult to control for the Seljuk rulers.

relationships between the dynasty and Turcoman tribes.[20] The Seljuks and Danishmendids proved to be the most successful in establishing their autonomy at the head of independent proto-states. The Danishmendids had held Sivas since the late eleventh century and took over Malatya in 496/ 1103, even forging alliances with Crusader forces against the Seljuks. Weakened by its division into three parts in 559/ 1164, the Danishmendid principality progressively lost its lands to the Seljuks, until its last stronghold, Malatya, fell in 573/ 1178.[21] In Erzurum, the Saltukids were the local rulers from 465/ 1072 to 598/ 1202, a time during which they were in conflict with both the neighboring Danishmendids and the kingdom of Georgia. Eventually, the Seljuks vanquished them, too.[22] The Mengücekids in Divriği persisted until the mid-thirteenth century because they had acknowledged Seljuk sovereignty, and even outlived the Mongol conquest.[23]

The initial period of Muslim rule in Anatolia was characterized by rivalries between various local rulers. In terms of patronage, these rulers established the basic infrastructure of a Muslim proto-state in their respective regions, with the foundation of Friday mosques and madrasas. The Danishmendids in the region of Tokat and Sivas, the Saltukids in the region of Erzurum and Erzincan, and the Rūm Seljuks in the region of Konya each started construction projects aimed at establishing such an infrastructure. At this stage, local styles and customs of building (such as the use of stone masonry) persisted, even as features appropriate for mosques (such as prayer niches and minarets) and certain forms of decoration (such as glazed tile mosaic) were imported, probably through the migration of craftsmen from Iran and Syria, as is documented by signatures in some cases. The locally available stone, for instance, had an impact on decoration: a softer limestone in the region of Sivas allowed for more subtle and plastic carving, while in the basalt of Erzurum, decoration remained closer to the surface of the wall and included motifs such as blind arches to provide rhythm, a feature seen already in the Armenian churches of the region.

As the Seljuks in Konya began to expand their realm, they did so at the expense of the Danishmendids, Saltukids, and other smaller rivals, slowly adding large sections of central and eastern Anatolia, from Konya to Erzurum, to their territories. Newly conquered cities were first secured with the construction of military structures such as walls and citadels, financed by the Seljuk sultans and their *amīr*s. After the conquest of Sinop in 611/ 1214, inscriptions referring to the victorious sultan, as well as to the *amīr*s involved in the construction project, were placed on newly

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[20] Peacock, *Early Seljūq History:* 4, 72–98.

[21] Irène Mélikoff, "Dānishmendids," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/danishmendids-SIM_1690, accessed 20 February 2014; Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye:* 141–74.

[22] Gary Leiser, "Saltuḳ Oghulları," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia –of-islam-2/saltukoghullari-SIM_6564, accessed 31 January 2013; Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye:* 275–8; Faruk Sümer, "Saltuklular," *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi* 3 (1971): 391–432.

[23] Claude Cahen, "Mengüček (Mangūdjak)," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/mengucek-SIM_5157, accessed 20 February 2014; Oya Pancaroğlu suggests a later date, based on the latest Mengücekid inscription found on the citadel of Divriği and dated 650/ 1252: Oya Pancaroğlu, "The Mosque-Hospital Complex at Divriği: A History of Relations and Transitions," *Anadolu ve Çevresinde Ortaçağ* 3 (2009): 184.

built towers and walls to mark Seljuk rule.[24] Similarly, after the second conquest of Antalya in 613/ 1216, the fortifications were repaired and marked with elaborate narrative inscriptions celebrating the victory.[25]

Once the Seljuks had removed most of their rivals and could make investments in relative security, their patronage expanded. They established a dense network of caravanserais along trade routes and either restored or founded mosques and some madrasas. A style connected to the Seljuk patronage slowly emerged, yet an imperial architecture was never fully realized. The inherent fluidity of the cultural milieu, along with the mobility of participating craftsmen, certainly contributed to the ephemeral and unstable nature of this style. The Mongol invasions in 639/ 1243, followed by the progressive integration of Anatolia into the Mongol realm, interrupted the development of a Seljuk royal style and led instead to an emphasis on local patrons, workforces, materials, and styles.

The geographical concentration of Seljuk patronage in the region around Konya before the Mongol conquest shows that the sultans operated comfortably where their domination was most secure, primarily in an area limited to the region southwest of the river Kızıl Irmak, with a particular concentration in Konya. This city was the closest semblance to a capital, even though the sultan had residences in other locations, including in Sivas and Kayseri, as well as many smaller structures across Anatolia. To the south, the Taurus Mountains formed a natural boundary that was not easily crossed. The conquests of the port cities of Sinop and Antalya provided the Seljuks with access to the Black Sea and Mediterranean, a significant boost to trade. Yet Seljuk hold always proved to be less stable in the eastern areas of Anatolia, giving these lands the character of a frontier shared by the Caucasus, Anatolia, and Iran. The richest foundations, in terms of the wealth of the architecture and of the related *waqf*s, are located within the zone around Konya, whereas only a little was built at the behest of the Seljuk sultans in the eastern cities of Erzurum and Erzincan.

During the most stable period of Seljuk rule in Anatolia, between 1200 and 1243, the region of Konya became a center of artistic production that attracted architects and craftsmen. Seemingly disparate stylistic vocabularies with roots in Iran, Syria, and Armenia were combined in new constructions with a degree of creativity that often defies categorization. The stylistic and technical versatility on display in these buildings shows that the patronage of the Seljuk court attracted some of the most skillful craftsmen. At this specific moment in time, and in this specific location, the conditions of patronage, in keeping with the imperial aspirations of the Seljuk sultans, fostered a level of creativity that was unrivaled in the wider region at that point. While this patronage increasingly supported a unified architectural style,

[24] Redford, "Seljuqs and the Antique:" 152–3. The inscriptions and the contribution of individual *amīr*s are analyzed in detail in: Scott Redford, "Sinop in the Summer of 1215: The Beginning of Anatolian Seljuk Architecture," *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 16 (2010): 125–49.

[25] For the particular attention that was paid to formulating inscriptions establishing the Seljuk claim on Antalya after its second conquest by the Seljuks following four years of independence, see: Scott Redford and Gary Leiser, *Victory Inscribed—The Seljuk Fetihnāme on the Citadel Walls of Antalya, Turkey*, Antalya: Suna-İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2008: 89–106.

this was not uniformly the case across Anatolia. Indeed, architectural style often took shape based on the dynamics of artistic creativity and structural possibilities, without being restricted by the mechanisms of imperial control and ideology.

In the late 1230s, the Mongol armies, advancing from Central Asia into Iran and further into the Middle East, reached Anatolia. Initially, their incursions were limited to occasional attacks on cities, along with diplomatic contacts demanding that the Seljuks submit to Mongol rule, pay tribute, and send emissaries to the Mongol Great Khan's court. These diplomatic efforts came to an end with the death of the Great Khan Ögödei in 638/ 1241, when succession struggles among the Mongols ended negotiations.[26]

During the rule of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II (r. 636–44/ 1237–46), who was just a teenager at the time of his accession, the Seljuk realm appeared weakened and presented the Mongol armies with ample opportunities for more targeted attacks, which were now aimed at conquest rather than raiding.[27] The city of Erzurum was the first to be attacked and conquered in 639/ 1242. The Seljuk chronicler Ibn Bībī describes the conquest in the darkest terms, suggesting that a large part of the population was led into slavery or killed and parts of the city were destroyed, without however indicating what buildings or areas of the city were affected.[28] Writing in the 1280s, several decades after the attack, Ibn Bībī may have used topoi about the destructive nature of the Mongol conquests, yet contemporary Armenian sources describe the event in similarly negative terms, suggesting that it was generally perceived to be traumatic.[29] In the summer of 640/ 1243, the army of the Seljuk sultan was defeated at the battle of Kösedağ, a site located between Sivas and Erzincan.[30] Anatolia was now under the authority of the Mongols, and the Seljuks were required to pay tribute to the Mongol Great Khan, though the sultan in Konya remained nominally in place.

Continuing their invasion of Anatolia, the Mongol armies moved on to Sivas, a city that only narrowly escaped destruction. According to Ibn Bībī, the kadi of the city, Najm al-Dīn of Kırşehir, had encountered the Mongol Great Khan in Iran in his youth and had received a *paize* (passport shaped like a shield) and *yarligh* (an edict of authorization) from him. As the army under Baiju Noyan advanced towards the city, the kadi went to meet him and presented his documents. The Mongol general agreed to plunder only one section of the city, ordering his soldiers to stop after

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[26] For a translation of Ibn Bībī's rendering of an order of submission sent to 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād I in 633/ 1236, see: Sara Nur Yıldız, "Mongol Rule in thirteenth-century Seljuk Anatolia: the Politics of Conquest and History Writing," PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 2006: 167–9.

[27] For a detailed analysis of this period, see: Yıldız, "Mongol Rule in thirteenth-century Seljuk Anatolia:" 160 ff. On Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II, see: Nejat Kaymaz, *Anadolu Selçuklu Sultanlarından II. Giyâsü'd-dîn Keyhüsrev ve Devri*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2009.

[28] Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Ibn Bībī, *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bībī*, tr. Herbert W. Duda, Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1959: 222–4.

[29] See, for instance, the description in Kirakos Gandsakezi, *Istorija Armenii*, tr. into Russian by L.A. Khanlarian, Moscow: Nauka, 1976: 175–6. The author, whose name is transcribed into English as Kirakos of Ganjak, was a contemporary of the event who composed his text the same year that Erzurum (Theodosiopolis in Greek, Karin in Armenian) was conquered, and who had spent several years in Mongol captivity: John Andrew Boyle, "Kirakos of Ganjak on the Mongols," *Central Asiatic Journal* VIII.3 (September, 1963): 199–200.

[30] Yıldız, "Mongol Rule in thirteenth-century Seljuk Anatolia:" 181–3.

three days.[31] The Mongols then proceeded to Kayseri, conquering and burning down the city after a siege. The destruction subsequently continued in southeastern Anatolia and into northern Syria. Unable to resist the Mongol takeover any longer, the Seljuks were forced to submit to their rule.[32]

Internal troubles accentuated the political instability created by the Mongol attacks. The succession struggles after the death of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II in 644/ 1246 persisted for years, ultimately largely deciding the fate of Anatolia under Mongol rule. At first, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II's three sons—'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād II, 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs II, and Rukn al-Dīn Qilij Arslān IV—ruled together under the administration of Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy.[33] After Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy's death in 652/ 1254, the agreement dissolved.[34] The prevailing chaos in Anatolia emboldened the Mongol general Baiju Noyan to invade the region once again, resulting in the destruction of parts of the city walls of Konya in 654/ 1256. In the course of these events, Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne*'s rise to power began.[35] A few years earlier, in 639/ 1243, his father, Muhadhdhab al-Dīn 'Alī al-Daylamī, had negotiated a truce and tribute between the Mongols and the Seljuk sultans.[36]

In 654/ 1256 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs II sought refuge with the Laskarid Byzantine emperor in Nicaea (İznik), where he had relatives on his (ethnically Greek) mother's side.[37] The deposed sultan's flight points to the broader historical context of the decades following the sack of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade in 1204, when a Latin emperor was installed in the Byzantine capital. This resulted in the dismantling of the Byzantine Empire, with several vestigial principalities claiming its legacy—the Laskarid Empire of Nicaea, the Komneni in Trebizond, and Michael Doukas's realm in Epiros.[38] After Michael VIII Palaiologos reentered Constantinople in 1261, the newly restored empire tried to rise to its former glory, even as the Empire of Trebizond persisted. The latter ultimately survived longer than its mother state, not falling to the Ottomans until 1461, several years after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. In Trebizond, just as in other parts of Anatolia during this period, the formation of a local identity (Byzantine of sorts, in this particular case)

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[31] Ibn Bībī, tr. Duda: 229–30; Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Ibn Bībī, *Selçuknâme*, tr. Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, second edition, Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2007: 178. Bar Hebraeus similarly indicates that Sivas surrendered and was only slightly damaged, whereas Kayseri resisted and was subsequently sacked: Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj, the son of Aaron, the Hebrew physician, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus; being the first part of his political history of the world,* tr. from the Syriac by Ernest A. Wallis Budge, two vols., London: Oxford University Press and H. Milford, 1932, II: 407.

[32] Yıldız, "Mongol Rule in thirteenth-century Seljuk Anatolia:" 185–6.

[33] Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye:* 485–91.

[34] Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye:* 491–7.

[35] The *pervāne* (*barwāna* in Arabic) referred to high administrative positions under the Seljuks, literally denoting a personal assistant to the ruler: Carole Hillenbrand, "Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān Parwāna," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/muin-al-din-sulayman-parwana-SIM_5442, accessed 26 November 2013.

[36] Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye:* 501; Cahen, *Formation of Turkey:* 184–6.

[37] Cahen, *Formation of Turkey:* 182; Rustam Shukurov, "Harem Christianity: The Byzantine Identity of Seljuk Princes," in: Andrew C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds) *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2013: 121.

[38] Michael Angold, "Byzantium after the Fourth Crusade: Byzantium in Exile," in: David Abulafia (ed.) *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Cambridge University Press, 1999, Cambridge Histories Online, accessed 17 November 2012, DOI:10.1017/CHOL9780521362894.026.

clearly emerged in architecture.[39] The Seljuk struggle for power took place amidst various different principalities, with actors that included the Byzantine emperors, along with Crusaders, Mongols, and Mamluks.

In 655/ 1257, while Rukn al-Dīn Qilij Arslān IV traveled to Iran to attend the court of the Ilkhan Hülegü (r. 654–63/ 1256–65), 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs II seized Konya. Upon his return to Anatolia the following year, Rukn al-Dīn Qilij Arslān learned of his deposition, although Hülegü had appointed him the sole sultan of Rūm.[40] By then, 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād II had died on a mission to pay tribute to the Great Khan in Mongolia.[41] After prolonged fighting between the two remaining brothers, Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* called for support from Ilkhanid forces, and they intervened, dividing the Seljuk realm into two sections. The river Kızıl Irmak served as a natural boundary between the territories of 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs II to the west, and Rukn al-Dīn Qilij Arslān IV to the east; the former retained Konya, while the latter chose Tokat as his capital.[42]

However, the tensions between the two sultans remained. Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī became the vizier of 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs II, while Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* took this post in the realm of Rukn al-Dīn Qilij Arslān IV. Even as 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs II tried to negotiate a reconciliation with his brother, a new Mongol intervention brought about another change in events: Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* offered Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī the post of vizier of all of Seljuk Anatolia, on condition that he accept the rule of Rukn al-Dīn Qilij Arslān IV. Once the deal had been concluded, Rukn al-Dīn Qilij Arslān IV entered Konya in 659/ 1261, while the fight against revolting Turcoman tribes continued for another year.[43] 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs II fled to Constantinople, later living out his days in exile in the Crimea, where he died in 678/ 1279–80.[44]

After the death of Rukn al-Dīn Qilij Arslān IV, his young son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw III (r. 662–82/ 1262–83) was installed, while Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* remained the *de facto* ruler of Anatolia.[45] In 675/ 1277, a campaign undertaken by the Mamluk sultan of Egypt, Baybars I (r. 658–76/ 1260–77), resulted in tighter Ilkhanid control of Anatolia. During that same year, the Karamanids, a rising local dynasty from a city near Konya, conquered the former capital and installed a Turcoman leader, Cimri, who claimed Seljuk lineage, as sultan. The leader of the revolt, Mehmed b. Karaman, became Cimri's vizier.[46]

The Mamluks' invasion of Anatolia was directed at the Ilkhanids, their greatest political rival for control of the Levant.[47] The Mamluk campaign was successful

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[39] Antony Eastmond, *Art and Identity in Thirteenth-Century Byzantium: Hagia Sophia and the Empire of Trebizond*, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs, vol. 10, Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004.

[40] Cahen, *Formation of Turkey:* 187–9.

[41] Cahen, *Formation of Turkey:* 188.

[42] Yıldız, "Mongol Rule in thirteenth-century Seljuk Anatolia:" 291–5; Cahen, *Formation of Turkey:* 188–9.

[43] Cahen, *Formation of Turkey:* 190–93.

[44] Cahen, *Formation of Turkey:* 191.

[45] Cahen, *Formation of Turkey:* 195.

[46] Cahen, *Formation of Turkey:* 205–6.

[47] Reuven Amitai, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260–1281*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995*:* 168–77.

to some extent: the Ilkhanids suffered a major defeat in the battle of Elbistan (Abūlustayn), and the Mamluk armies occupied the city of Kayseri in central Anatolia for six months, before a lack of provisions forced Baybars to abandon the city and retreat to Syria as winter approached.[48] Both events posed a direct threat to Mongol rule. Fearing further attacks in a political climate rife with espionage and treason, the Ilkhanid ruler Abāqā Khān (r. 663–81/ 1265–82) opted for tighter control over Anatolia. The administration became more closely connected to the Ilkhanid center in Iran than before; governors were appointed from Iran, and the Seljuk sultan was definitively reduced to a puppet ruler.

During those years, the two most powerful local figures in Anatolia died: Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* was executed on suspicion of conspiracy with the Mamluks in 675/ 1277,[49] while the elderly vizier Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī passed away in 684/ 1285.[50] Governors were dispatched directly from Iran and changed frequently. This tighter centralized control remained in place until the 1330s, when, with the decline of Ilkhanid rule, both appointed governors, including Eretna and his descendants in Sivas, and local actors began claiming independence.[51] As the Ilkhanid dynasty itself grew weaker, especially under the rule of Abū Sa'īd (r. 716–35/ 1316–36), centralized control gradually began to slip away, and some local notables and Ilkhanid administrators began to gain independence. By the mid-fourteenth century, this resulted in a similar situation to that in western Anatolia since the 1280s: small local principalities (*beylik*s) competed for power in the absence of any sort of central control. Sources on this complex historical background are widely dispersed and particularly difficult to relate to architecture, as building projects often remain overshadowed by complex accounts of political interactions.

Primary sources

This study draws extensively on both chronicles and texts directly related to the monuments. The latter consist of inscriptions on the buildings and foundation documents (*waqfiya*s) that have been preserved in some cases. The foundation inscriptions and other texts directly affixed to the buildings are the most immediate sources, since they are part of the structures and also narrate their histories. Essential sources for the study of inscriptions include photographs, personal

[48] Cahen, *Formation of Turkey:* 203–5.

[49] Amitai, *Mongols and Mamluks:* 176–7.

[50] As noted in an inscription in Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī's tomb within the Sahib Ata Complex in Konya: Etienne Combe, Jean Sauvaget and Gaston Wiet (eds) *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, 18 vols., Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1931–96 (hereafter *RCEA*), no. 4863.

[51] Whereas the *beylik*s in western Anatolia are well studied, less work has been done on similar political formations in eastern Anatolia. As a result, a seminal early work on this topic is still being reprinted today: İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu, Karakoyunlu devletleri siyasî, idarî, fikrî, iktisadî, hayat, ilmî ve ictimaî muesseseler, halk ve toprak*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1937. For a more recent study, focusing on the period after 1350, see: Jürgen Paul, "Mongol Aristocrats and Beyliks in Anatolia: A Study of Astarābādī's *Bazm va Razm*," *Eurasian Studies* 9, no. 1–2 (2011): 105–58.

observations, the *RCEA*, and Max van Berchem and Halil Edhem's *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* (hereafter, *MCIA*).[52]

The *waqfiya*s are legal documents first and foremost, essential for establishing the charitable foundations that provided for the maintenance and running costs of many monuments throughout the Islamic world. These documents are primarily useful in studying the functions of monuments and building programs, particularly where not all elements have been preserved. They provide insight into patronage and economic history, rather than into the structural aspects of the monuments. The documents mention properties assigned to a foundation, thus reflecting available resources in urban real estate, cash, or arable lands. Some detailed documents even mention the location of these properties within a city or in the surrounding countryside, thereby allowing for a detailed reconstruction of now-lost sites, in terms of both their architecture and layout, and their daily functioning.

Some medieval Anatolian *waqfiya*s have been published, often in a modern Turkish translation together with the original Arabic text.[53] At times, only the Turkish translation is provided, making access to the original document even more crucial.[54] Not many endowment documents from thirteenth and fourteenth century Anatolia have been preserved, and almost all of them have been published. Among the unpublished documents are some relating to small early fourteenth-century foundations, preserved in the archives of the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü in Ankara. In most of these cases, the related buildings are no longer extant. In many cases, only later copies of *waqfiya*s have survived, with dates ranging from the seventeenth to the early twentieth century.[55] In the Yakutiye Medrese in Erzurum, a detailed

[52] Max van Berchem and Halil Edhem (Eldem), *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum: Troisième Partie: Asie Mineure*, Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1917.

[53] Muallim Mehmet Cevdet, "Sivas Darüşşifa'sı Vakfiyesi ve Tercümesi," *Vakıflar Dergisi* I (1938): 35–8; İsmet Kayaoğlu, "Turumtay Vakfiyesi," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 12 (1978): 91–112; Ahmet Temir, *Kırşehir emiri Caca oğlu Nur el-Din'in 1272 tarihli Arapça-Moğolca vakfiyesi*, second edition, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989; Ahmet Temir, "Die arabisch-uigurische Vaḳf-Urkunde von 1326 des Emirs Şeref el-Din Aḥmed bin Çakırca von Sivas," in: Hans L. Gottschalk, Wolfram von Soden and Gertraud Thausing (eds) *Festschrift Herbert W. Duda—Zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Freunden und Schülern, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 56 (1960): 232–40; Osman Turan, "Selçuklu devri vakfiyeleri I – Şemseddin Altun-Aba vakfiyesi ve hayatı," *Belleten* 11 (1947): 197–235; *idem*, "Selçuklu devri vakfiyeleri II – Mübârizü'd-Dîn Er-Tokuş ve vakfiyesi," *Belleten* 11 (1947): 415–29; *idem*, "Selçuklu devri vakfiyeleri III – Celâleddîn Karatay vakıfları ve vakfiyeleri," *Belleten* 12 (1948): 17–170; M. Zeki Oral, "Ahi Ahmet Nahcivanî vakfiyesi," *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* III.3 (1954): 57–65.

[54] Sadi Bayram and Ahmet Karabacak, "Sahip Ata Fahrüddin Ali'nin Konya İmaret ve Sivas Gök Medrese Vakfiyeleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 13 (1981): 31–69; Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara (hereafter: VGM), 604–67–90.

[55] All of these copies mention the thirteenth- or fourteenth-century date when the foundation was originally established. In some cases, the date of the copy is mentioned: the *waqfiya* of the Gök Medrese in Sivas (VGM 604–67–90) was copied in 1329/ 1914. The *waqfiya* of the Hasum Bey Zaviyesi in Kayseri (VGM 730–52–27) might be a later copy as the names of several witnesses carry the title "efendī," which is not very common before the late fifteenth century, though in Anatolia it was used around 1300 in the sense of "master"; see: Irène Mélikoff, "Un document Akhi du XIIIe siècle," in: Raoul Curiel and Rika Gyselen (eds) *Itinéraires d'Orient—Hommages à Claude Cahen*, Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l'Etude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 1994, n. 13. A copy of a nearly identical document pertaining to the same building in Kayseri (VGM 739–329–161) might be even later since the subsequent document in the same *defter* is dated 1130/ 1717.

excerpt from the *waqfīya* is carved inside the building—a nearly unique case in Anatolia, as we will see in Chapters 2 and 3.[56]

There are few chronicles from medieval Anatolia, suggesting that much has either been lost or remains undiscovered in libraries.[57] Charles Melville has argued that the very nature of Anatolian frontier culture initially made it a problematic place for writing history, and that references for a historical narrative only became available at a later stage, when the region gradually developed an identity distinct from the Persian historiography of Iran.[58]

One of the earliest Persian chronicles of the Seljuks that clearly shows the importance of Anatolia as the new center of this dynasty is Muḥammad b. ʻAlī b. Sulaymān al-Rāvandī's *Rāḥat-uṣ-ṣudūr wa-āyat-us-surūr,* an account of the history of the Seljuks that focuses on the reign of Rukn al-Dīn Ṭughril III (r. 571–90/ 1175–94), during which the author lived in Iran.[59] Rāvandī began to write his work in 599/ 1202, as stated in the introduction to the manuscript. Writing after the Seljuks had disappeared from Iran, Rāvandī traveled instead to Konya to dedicate his work to the Seljuk sultan of Rūm, eventually addressing it to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw I (r. 588–93/ 1192–97 and 601–08/ 1205–11). The author died after 603/ 1207.[60] His history essentially covers the urban Persianate culture of Seljuk Anatolia.[61]

The most well-known history of Seljuk Anatolia is Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Bībī's *al-Avāmir al-ʻalāʼiyya fī ʻl-ʻumūr al-ʻalāʼiyya* ("The most exalted orders regarding the most sublime affairs"). The work recounts the history of the Seljuks in Anatolia from 584/ 1188 to 679/ 1281, with a focus on the reign of ʻAlāʼ al-Dīn Kayqubād (r. 616–36/ 1220–37).[62] The only full manuscript is published in facsimile, and it remains unedited.[63] Sara Nur Yıldız's recent study of Mongol rule in Anatolia is based on this manuscript.[64]

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[56] *RCEA*, no. 4025.

[57] Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *The Seljuks of Anatolia: their history and culture according to local Muslim sources*, tr. and ed. Gary Leiser, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992, first published as: Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, "Anadolu Selçuklu Tarihinin Yerel Kaynakları," *Belleten* VII (1943): 379–458. For a study on such an unedited source, see: Andrew C.S. Peacock, "Aḥmad of Niğde's *al-Walad al-Shafīq* and the Seljuk Past," *Anatolian Studies* 54 (2004): 95–107.

[58] Charles Melville, "The Early Persian Historiography of Anatolia," in: Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn (eds) *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East: Studies in Honor of John E. Woods*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006: 135–7.

[59] For the Persian text, see: Muḥammad b. ʻAlī al-Rāvandī, *The Rāḥat-uṣ-ṣudūr wa-āyat-us-surūr, being a history of the Saljūqs*, ed. Muḥammad Iqbāl, E.J.W. Gibb memorial series, new series, vol. 2, London: Luzac & Co., 1921; Muḥammad b. ʻAlī al-Rāvandī, *Rāhat-us-sudūr wa āyat-us-surūr fī tārīkh al-dawlah al-saljūqīya*, tr. Ibrāhīm Amīn al-Shawāribī, ʻAbd al-Naʻīm Muḥammad Ḥusayn and Fu'ād ʻAbd al-Muʻṭī al-Ṣayyād, Cairo: Dār al-Qalam, 1960; Muḥammad b. ʻAlī al-Rāvandī, *Râhat-üs-sudûr ve âyet-üs-sürûr (Gönüllerin rahate ve sevinç alâmeti)*, tr. Ahmed Ateş, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1957.

[60] Carole Hillenbrand, "Rāwandī, Muḥammad b. ʻAlī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/rawandi-SIM_6253, accessed 20 February 2014; "Râvendî, Muhammed b. Ali," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988–2011, vol. 34: 471–2.

[61] Carole Hillenbrand, "Rāvandī, the Seljuk court at Konya and the Persianisation of Anatolian cities," *Mésogeios* 25–6 (2005): 157–69.

[62] On the life of the author, see: Melville, "Early Persian Historiography:" 138–9.

[63] Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya no. 2985; Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Ibn Bībī, *al-Avāmirü ʻl-ʻAlāʼiyye fī ʻl-Umūri ʻl-ʻAlāʼiyye,* ed. Adnan Sadık Erzi, vol.1, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1956.

[64] Yıldız, "Mongol Rule in thirteenth-century Seljuk Anatolia"; for an assessment of the different editions and translations of Ibn Bībī's work, see: ibid: 433–40.

The text also exists in an abbreviated version, the *Mukhtaṣar*, which is more readily available and more widely used.[65]

Musāmarat al-akhbār wa-musāyarat al-akhyār by Karīm al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Aqsarāyī, (fl. ca. 1300) is another source on the Mongol administration of Anatolia.[66] The author held a position in the *waqf* administration under the Ilkhanid ruler Ghāzān Khān (r. 694–704/ 1295–1304) in Aksaray, a town that assumes an important place in the chronicle. At the time of writing (723/ 1323), according to the author, Anatolia was fully integrated into the Ilkhanid realm, yet the lack of a clear chronology within the work often makes it difficult to follow the events.[67] In fact, the author rarely mentions dates, so his narrative is only intelligible to readers already familiar with major events, historical figures, and corresponding dates.

The *Manāqib al-ʿārifīn* by Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Aflākī contains the biographies of Mawlawī Sufis who were active in Anatolia.[68] The author wrote the work for ʿĀrif Chelebī, his teacher and a grandson of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī.[69] Since the author focused on the biographies of religious figures (rather like a lives of saints) rather than on history *per se*, it is often difficult to understand the chronology of the text without prior knowledge of the events.[70] Nevertheless, recent studies of this and similar texts have shown that, despite their specific limits and biases, hagiographical accounts can be fruitful sources for historical work on medieval Islamic societies, in that they provide an alternative perspective to that provided in chronicles of rulers' and dynasties' achievements.[71] At the same time, they need to be read with a critical perspective in relation to the idealization of Sufi teachers and leaders that is often central to their premise of establishing a particular movement's spiritual genealogy. The letters Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī wrote to his patrons offer a corrective to the emphasis on the Sufi community's independence from patronage postulated in Aflākī's hagiography, since they show his interest in interacting with, and benefitting

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[65] Ibn Bībī, tr. Duda; Ibn Bībī, *Selçuknâme*, tr. Yinanç.

[66] Karīm al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Aqsarāyī, *Müsâmeretü'l-ahbâr*, tr. Mürsel Öztürk, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2000; Karīm al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Aqsarāyī, *Müsâmeret ül-akhbar—Moğollar zamanında Türkiye Selçukluları tarihi*, ed. Osman Turan, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1944; Karīm al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Aqsarāyī, *Die Seltschuken-Geschichte des Akserāyī*, edition and summary by Fikret Işıltan, Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1943.

[67] Melville, "Early Persian Historiography:" 145–7.

[68] Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Aflākī, *Ariflerin Menkibleri*, tr. Tahsin Yazıcı, second edition, Istanbul: Kabalcı, 2006; Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Aflākī, *The Feats of the Knowers of God: Manāqeb al-ʿārefīn*, tr. John O'Kane, Leiden: Brill, 2002.

[69] Fritz Meier, "Aflākī, Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/aflaki-SIM_0341, accessed 20 February 2014.

[70] Aflākī, Ibn Bībī, and Aqsarāyī are examined in detail as sources on the relations between Christians and Muslims, nomads and sedentary populations in: Şevket Küçükhüseyin, *Selbst- und Fremdwahrnehmung im Prozess kultureller Transformation: Anatolische Quellen über Muslime, Christen und Türken (13.–15. Jahrhundert)*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011.

[71] Shahzad Bashir, *Sufi Bodies: Religion and Society in Medieval Islam*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2011; Küçükhüseyin, *Selbst- und Fremdwahrnehmung,* 316–20 and 335–48; Andrew C.S. Peacock, "Sufis and the Seljuk Court in Mongol Anatolia: Politics and Patronage in the Works of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and Sulṭān Walad," in: Andrew C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds) *The Seljuks of Anatolia—Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013: 206–26.

from, the ruling elite.[72] Moreover, the letters are contemporaneous with Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's lifetime, unlike Aflākī's account that was written several generations later.

As far as sources written outside of Anatolia are concerned, there are several important Ilkhanid texts. 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik al-Juwaynī's (d. 682/ 1283) *Tārīkh-i Jahān-gushā* (*History of the World Conqueror*) details the Mongol conquests beginning with Genghis Khan and attempts to achieve a balance in his treatment of the author's Mongol overlords and his Persian compatriots.[73] Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl-allāh Ṭabīb's (d. 718/ 1318) *Jamiʿ al-Tawārikh* contains brief yet important insights on Anatolia.[74] The so-called letters of Rashīd al-Dīn, attributed to the same author, on the other hand, are an extremely problematic source as they may in fact be a later fabrication.[75] Al-Qāshānī's chronicle of the rule of the Ilkhanid sultan Uljāytū invites speculation about Ilkhanid patronage in Anatolia, or the lack thereof.[76] Mamluk sources, both works that have been edited and ones available only as manuscripts, are used in great detail in Reuven Amitai's studies on the conflict between Mamluks and Ilkhanids, including the place of Anatolia within it.[77]

Travel accounts and geographical literature, ranging from the fourteenth to the twentieth century, provide descriptions of monuments and their state of preservation. One of the classics of travel literature in Arabic, the *Riḥla*, which records the travels of its author Shams al-Dīn b. 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Ṭanjī ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 778/ 1377) during the second quarter of the fourteenth century, contains a section on Anatolia that praises the region for its gardens and the hospitality of its Akhī communities, confraternities often associated with particular crafts.[78] In Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī's *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, written in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, Anatolia appears as one of the most impoverished provinces of the Ilkhanid realm, though this may to some extent reflect negative

[72] Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Mevlânânın Mektupları*, ed. Ahmed Remzi Akyürek, Istanbul: Sebat Basımevi, 1937; Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Mevlânâ Celâleddin—Mektuplar*, tr. Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, Istanbul: İnkilâp ve Aka Kitabevleri, 1963.

[73] 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik al-Juwaynī, *Genghis Khan: the history of the world conqueror*, translated from the text of Mirza Muhammad Qazvini by J.A. Boyle; with a new introduction and bibliography by David O. Morgan, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.

[74] Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl-allāh Ṭabīb, *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārikh*, edition of the Persian text with parallel Russian translation by A.K. Arends, three vols., Baku: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk Azerbaidzhanskoi SSR, 1957; Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl-allāh Ṭabīb, *Jami' u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles—A History of the Mongols*, tr. Wheeler M. Thackston, three vols., Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1998.

[75] A. Zeki Velidi Togan, "References to Economic and Cultural Life in Anatolia in the Letters of Rashīd al-Dīn," translated and with an introduction by Gary Leiser, in: Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn (eds) *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East—Studies in Honor of John E. Woods*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006: 84–111. See Leiser's introduction on pp. 84–7 for problems related to the source and references.

[76] Abū 'l-Qāsim 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad l-Qāshānī, *Die Chronik des Qāšānī über den Ilchan Öläǧäitü (1304–1316)*, ed. and tr. Maryam Parvisi-Berger, PhD dissertation, Georg August Universität, Göttingen, 1968.

[77] Reuven Amitai, *The Mongols in the Islamic Lands—Studies in the History of the Ilkhanate*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007; Amitai, *Mongols and Mamluks*.

[78] Shams al-Dīn b. 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Ṭanjī Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels of Ibn Battuta, A.D. 1325–1354*, ed. B.R. Sanguinetti and C. Defrémery, tr. H.A.R. Gibb, five vols., Cambridge: Published for the Hakluyt Society at the University Press, 1958; Shams al-Dīn b. 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Ṭanjī Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, ed. and tr. C. Defréméry and B. R. Sanguinetti, four vols., Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879–1914.

topoi about the region.[79] The roughly contemporary Mamluk writer Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī mostly describes the principalities (*beylik*s) of western Anatolia, yet also includes a detailed description of one thirteenth-century caravanserai in the region of Kayseri.[80]

Later accounts, dating from the seventeenth to the early twentieth century can be useful for details of the monuments or the urban fabric that have since disappeared. Thus, the seventeenth-century *Seyâhatnâme* by Evliyâ Çelebî, Ottoman traveler *par excellence,* contains descriptions of several central Anatolian cities, including Sivas and Erzurum, which will be used later.[81] Finally, the relevant nineteenth- and twentieth-century travel diaries and accounts are too numerous to be named here and will be mentioned throughout the text whenever appropriate.

Armenian sources provide information on the Mongol conquest of the Caucasus, sometimes including cities in Anatolia with significant Armenian populations, such as Erzurum (Karin in Armenian).[82] The chronicle of Grigor of Akanc describes the Mongol conquests.[83] Kirakos Gandzakertsi was a prisoner of the Mongols and provides lists of vocabulary in Mongolian.[84] Galstyan provides extracts, translated into Russian, from a number of Armenian sources relevant to the Mongol conquest.[85] While Georgian sources are also pertinent to an understanding of relations between the Seljuks and the Caucasus, they are available in translation even less frequently than the Armenian ones.[86]

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[79] Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-qulūb composed by Hamd-Allāh Mustawfī of Qazwīn in 740 (1340)*, ed. and tr. Guy Le Strange, two vols., E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series, vol. 23, part 1 and part 2, Leiden: E.J. Brill and London: Luzac & Co., 1915–19.

[80] Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Das Mongolische Weltreich; Al-'Umari's Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. and tr. Klaus Lech, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968; Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Al-'Umarī's Bericht über Anatolien in seinem Werke Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. Franz Taeschner, Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1929.

[81] Evliyâ Çelebî, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi—Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 304 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu*, ed. Y. Dağlı, R. Dankoff, S.A. Kahraman, Z. Kurşun, nine vols., Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999–2005. For a partial translation of the account on Anatolia, see: Evliyâ Çelebî, *Evliya Çelebis Anatolienreise aus dem dritten Band des Seyâhatnâme*, ed. and tr. Korkut M. Buğday, Leiden: Brill, 1996.

[82] For a study of relations between the Mongols and Armenia, relying heavily on Armenian and Georgian sources, see: Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians (1220–1335)*, Leiden: Brill, 2011. Below, only Armenian sources available in translation are listed.

[83] Grigor of Akanc, "History of the Nation of the Archers (The Mongols) by Grigor of Akanc, Hitherto Ascribed to Malak'ia The Monk—The Armenian Text Edited with an English Translation and Notes," ed. and tr. Robert P. Blake and Richard N. Frye, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12 No. 3–4 (Dec., 1949): 269–399.

[84] Kirakos Gandsakezi, *Istorija Armenii*.

[85] A.G. Galstyan, *Ermeni Kaynaklarına göre Moğollar–XIII.–XIV. Yüzyıllara ait eserlerden alıntılar*, tr. İlyas Kamalov, Istanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları, 2005. I was not able to obtain a copy of the Russian original.

[86] Andrew C.S. Peacock, "Georgia and the Anatolian Turks in the 12th and 13th centuries," *Anatolian Studies* 56 (2006): 127–46.

Overview of the chapters

The focus of this book is on monuments built in the second half of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, as Anatolia progressively became integrated into the Mongol imperial sphere. After royal Seljuk patronage disappeared, two new groups of patrons became active at a high level: those affiliated with the Mongol rulers, on the one hand, and those associated with the powerless Seljuk sultan, on the other.

Chapter 1, which focuses on a number of madrasas and a large mosque complex that were built in Konya from the 1240s to the 1280s, examines how these new patrons used their projects to reshape the Seljuk capital, which was devoid of royal patronage at that point. These patrons included Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy (d. 652/ 1254), a powerful *amīr* both before and after the Mongol conquest, and the two main viziers in the 1260s and 1270s, Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* (d. 675/ 1277) and Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī (d. 684/ 1285). All three patrons were very active in Konya and also sponsored monuments in the surrounding region and in other cities, including Sinop, Sivas, and Kayseri. The focus on Konya shows how the transformations in patronage reshaped the Seljuk capital once the sultans themselves were no longer active as patrons of architecture. The addition of several madrasas, some located close to the citadel and the site of the mosque that 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād restored in the 1220s, gives the impression of a Sunni revival; however, it may instead reflect a strengthening of the college structure in a city already heavily marked by such institutions. At the same time, patronage for Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 671/ 1273) and his disciples suggests a religious milieu in which ulema and Sufis moved in similar circles. Thus, while the notion of a Sunni revival akin to that promoted by the Great Seljuks in Iran in the eleventh century and subsequently transferred to Syria in the twelfth century may not be entirely appropriate for Anatolia, a heightened interest in religious institutions was nevertheless apparent there. Whether this interest in the construction of institutions of Muslim learning was the result of fear of the largely non-Muslim Mongols remains a matter for debate. Subsequent chapters examine the construction of madrasas in other cities under diverse circumstances, opening the larger question of the role of institutions of religious learning in Anatolia.

Continuing in this vein of analysis, Chapter 2 discusses the construction of three madrasas in Sivas in the same year, 670/ 1271–72. The interventions of competing patrons—including Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī, who for the first time commissioned a monument further east in Anatolia, away from his focus on the region of Konya—created a college town teeming with the students and ulema who populated these institutions. The construction of two madrasas at the very center of the inner citadel, possibly on a former Seljuk palace site, transformed the urban fabric. The third madrasa, located near the outer citadel of Sivas, was central to the expansion of the city, and thus had a similar effect to the complex of Sahib Ata in Konya, which was built away from the citadel along a road leading in the direction of Karaman in 656/ 1258. Moreover, Sivas presents one of the few cases where a patron from Iran became directly involved in Anatolia: the founder of the Çifte Minareli Medrese,

Shams al-Dīn Juwaynī (d. 683/ 1284), was a high official of the Ilkhanid court and commissioned his madrasa in direct competition with both Sivas's Seljuk past and Ṣāḥib ʿAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī's new foundation.

In Chapter 3, this sense of integrating the past into a newly reformulated urban context emerges more strongly in an analysis of Erzurum at the very end of the thirteenth century and in the early decades of the fourteenth century. Now firmly under Ilkhanid rule, this city on the eastern edge of Anatolia saw the construction of several madrasas that all strongly refer to earlier monuments in the city. The earlier buildings were founded under Saltukid rule in the twelfth century, before the Seljuks defeated this local dynasty in 601/ 1205. The architecture of the city's Ilkhanid patrons, among them the governor of Erzurum and Bayburt, is strongly rooted in the urban fabric, with subtle reference to earlier monuments, while the foundations of the Ilkhanid rulers in Iran are hardly referenced at all. It becomes clear that Anatolia's integration into the Ilkhanid realm happened at the fiscal and economic level, due to reforms implemented under Ghāzān Khān after his conversion to Islam. Architecture, on the other hand, was allowed to go its own way. Madrasas were once again used as a way to bring new populations of students to the city and to reassert the hold of Islam, especially once the Ilkhanid rulers had converted to Islam—the final step in their acculturation with Persian-speaking Muslim families such as the Juwaynīs, who had been at the helm of the Mongol administration since the conquest of Iran in the 1220s.

Finally, Chapter 4 discusses how the architectural landscape changed in the cities of Ankara, Amasya, and Tokat as the Ilkhanid hold over Anatolia waned in the early fourteenth century. While Erzurum, as the gateway between Iran and Anatolia, continued to be a major site of patronage, local patrons in other cities were active on reduced scale. As the Ilkhanids felt their power slip away, they tried to tighten their hold over the region. As a result, no new generation of local elites emerged, and high-level patronage effectively collapsed. Instead, the leaders of local Sufi and Akhī communities established *zāwiya*s and mausolea, often built in strongly local styles and with endowments that included only properties within and in the immediate vicinity of the city where the monuments stood. These structures served as sites for communal activities among local Muslims and to tie lands in the immediate region to these foundations. In a time of political and economic instability, in particular beginning in the 1320s as the Ilkhanid realm became increasingly troubled, these local forms of patronage ensured the continuity of institutions and community life. If architecture in Anatolia reflected political changes, it did so most poignantly from the 1290s to the 1330s, when the increased fiscal pressure exerted by the Ilkhanid administration drained the region of resources—including, of course, those essential to major architectural projects.

1

A capital without royal patronage: Konya (1240–1280)

In the late twelfth century, Konya became the capital of the Seljuks of Rūm as they increasingly consolidated their rule in Anatolia and expanded their realm at the expense of rival dynasties, including the Danishmendids in Sivas and the Saltukids in Erzurum. By the 1180s, the Seljuks had become the nearly exclusive rulers of large parts of central and eastern Anatolia. They had established a realm that they could now consolidate through various measures, including shaping a capital in Konya, conquering further cities (particularly ports on the Mediterranean and Black Sea), and building a network of caravanserais to secure trade routes. During the rule of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw I, beginning in 602/ 1205, the Seljuk realm became increasingly centralized, a process that would accelerate under the two subsequent rulers, 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs I (r. 608–16/ 1211–20) and 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād I (r. 616–36/ 1220–37).[1] This centralization, with its focus on Konya, had profound effects on urban planning in Anatolia.[2]

Konya's apogee as the capital of this Muslim dynasty—now the most powerful in Anatolia—came during the rule of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād, who invested in transforming the city into an urban center that was appropriate for a ruler at the height of his power. While Scott Redford and, most recently, Suzan Yalman have examined the transformation of Konya under 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād's patronage, much remains to be said about the fate of the city after the Mongol conquest of Anatolia in the 1240s.[3] As I will show below, Konya remained an important location for architectural patronage at least until the 1270s, even though the city was no longer the center of an independent ruler.

For Konya, the Mongol conquest meant the emergence of new patrons, in two major phases from the 1240s to the 1270s. During the first phase, in the 1240s and early 1250s, one of the city's principal patrons was Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy (d. 652/ 1254), who was among the most powerful figures during the first decade of Mongol rule. His extensive *waqfīya* for foundations in Konya and the surrounding region has been

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1 Cahen, *Formation of Turkey*, 47–65; Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye*: 291–346.

2 Scott Redford, "City Building in Seljuq Rum," in: Christian Lange and Songül Mecit (eds) *The Seljuqs: Politics, Society and Culture*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011: 257–8.

3 Scott Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque in Konya Reconsidered," *Artibus Asiae* 51.1/2 (1991): 54–74; Scott Redford, "The Seljuqs of Rum and the Antique," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 148–56; Yalman, "Building the Sultanate of Rum."

preserved, providing important insights into his patronage.[4] In the mid-thirteenth century, the Seljuk sultans were no longer active as patrons, as several studies have shown.[5] Patronage again shifted in the second phase, after the death of Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy, when new patrons emerged—most importantly Ṣāḥib ʻAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī and Muʻīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne*— who were active in the 1260s and 1270s.

Under Baiju Noyan (who had already led the conquest in 639/ 1243), the Mongols defeated the Seljuk forces near Aksaray in 654/ 1256, partly destroying the fortifications of Konya before the Seljuk sultan Rukn al-Dīn Qilij Arslān was allowed to return to his capital.[6] In the following years, the two major political actors in Anatolia, Ṣāḥib ʻAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī (d. 684/ 1285), and Muʻīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* (d. 675/ 1277) emerged as patrons in various locations across Anatolia, including Konya.

This chapter focuses on the patronage of these three major figures—Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy, Ṣāḥib ʻAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī, and Muʻīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne*—who transformed Konya in the power vacuum following the Mongol conquest, adding to the concentration of monuments around the citadel hill (Figure 1.1).

However, these patrons not only added monuments here, at the center of ʻAlā' al-Dīn Kayqubād's city, but their new construction projects also expanded the city in other directions. In this chapter, I show how madrasas were built in Konya even though the Seljuk sultan had lost actual power, the realm was split between two brothers, and royal patronage no longer played an important role in the city. The chapter ends with the death of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/ 1273), when, as I would argue, a new era began for medieval Konya. Just a year later, in 673/ 1274, Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunawī, the most important disciple of Ibn ʻArabī in Anatolia, passed away, putting an end to the presence of two important teachers—if not of their followers—in the city.

Ṣāḥib ʻAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī, in particular, is known as a prolific patron; in Konya, the Sahib Ata Complex (including a mosque, bathhouse, mausoleum, and *khānqāh*) was begun in 656/ 1258, and the İnce Minareli Medrese was built around 1265. The *waqfiya* for the İnce Minareli Medrese has been preserved, as has that of the Gök Medrese in Sivas.[7] The latter monument and its impact on the urban fabric of Sivas will be discussed in Chapter 2. It is noteworthy that, in both Konya and Sivas, Ṣāḥib ʻAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī chose to commission complexes in locations that were not in the established center (even *extra muros*, in the case of Konya), thus opening up new sections in both cities to construction and expansion.

Muʻīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* is also known as a patron, though fewer of his foundations have been preserved, perhaps due to *damnatio memoriae* after his execution for treason in 675/ 1277 (discussed at greater length in Chapter 2). Even though no inscriptions recording Muʻīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne*'s role as a patron

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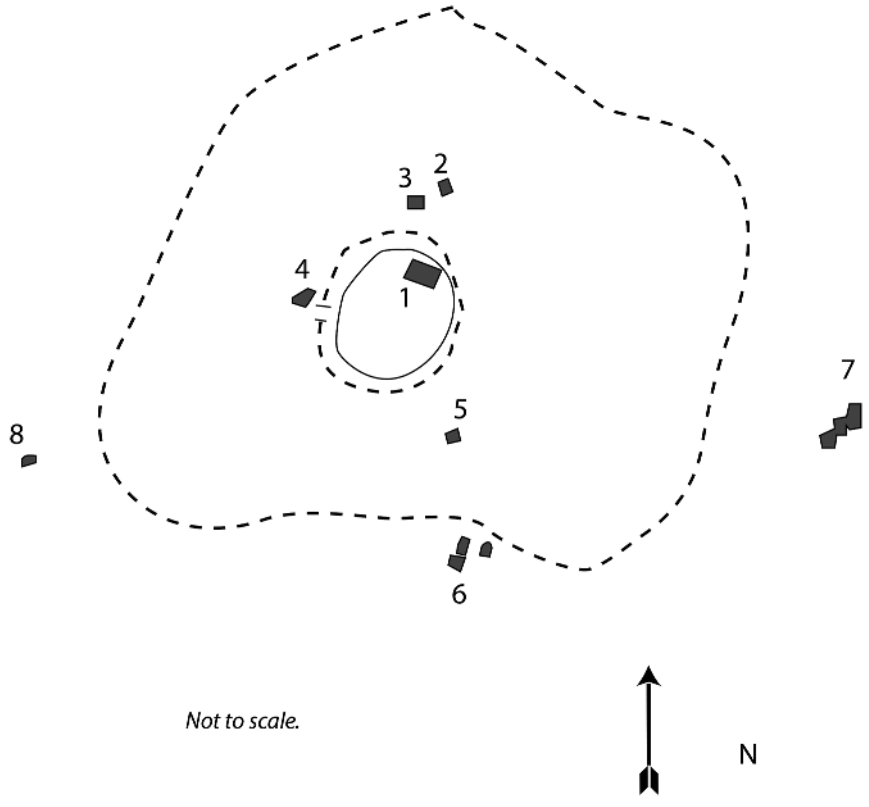
4 Turan, "Selçuklu devri vakfiyeleri III"; Howard Grant Crane, "Materials for the Study of Muslim Architecture in Seljuq Anatolia: The Life and Works of Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy," PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1975. I thank Professor Crane for lending me his copy of the dissertation.

5 Howard Crane, "Notes on Saljūq Architectural Patronage in 13th century Anatolia," *JESHO* 36.1 (1993): 1–57; J. Michael Rogers, "Patronage in Seljuk Anatolia, 1200–1300," PhD dissertation, Oxford University, 1971.

6 Yıldız, "Mongol Rule in thirteenth-century Seljuk Anatolia:" 283.

7 Bayram and Karabacak.



1.1 Map of Konya with monuments mentioned in the text, redrawn after Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 1, Karte I. Drawing by Deniz Coşkun

1. Alaeddin Mosque
2. Küçük Karatay Medrese (no longer extant)
3. Karatay Medrese
4. İnce Minareli Medrese
5. Sırçalı Medrese
6. Sahib Ata Complex
7. Mevlana Mausoleum
8. Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunawī Mausoleum

in Konya have survived, he is known to have been involved in the construction of the mausoleum of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/ 1273) there. Together with his wife Gurjī Khātūn (a Georgian princess and widow of sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II), Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* was an important supporter of the Sufi leader and his community.[8] Writing in the mid-fourteenth century, Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Aflākī (himself a disciple of one of Rūmī's grandsons, 'Ārif Chelebī) records the couple's support in several episodes in his hagiography of the first generations of the Mawlawīya, which begins with Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's father, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Balkhī (d. 628/ 1231).[9] During the time when Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Aflākī

[8] Cahen, *Formation of Turkey:* 62, 67; Antony Eastmond, "Gender and Patronage between Christianity and Islam in the Thirteenth Century," in: Ayla Ödekan, Engin Akyürek and Nevra Necipoğlu (eds) *Change in the Byzantine World in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries*, *1 Uluslararasi Sevgi Gönül Bizans Araştirmalari Sempozyumu/First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*, Istanbul: Vehbi Koç Vakfı, 2010: 84–5.

[9] Aflākī, *Ariflerin Menkibler*i, tr. Yazıcı: 129, 163, 243, 317, 348, 353, 369–30, 389, 407, 590; Aflākī, *The Feats of the Knowers of God*, tr. O' Kane: 100, 182–3, 260–61, 292–3, 298, 317, 358, 506–8, 526, 552–3.

wrote this text, over a prolonged period from the late 1310s to the early 1350s, Ilkhanid influence in Anatolia dissolved and Konya fell under the influence of the Karamanids, a Turcoman dynasty centered in nearby Larende (now Karaman).[10] As Şevket Küçükhüseyin points out, Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Aflākī's text portrays a broad spectrum of Konya's society during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, from the elites who sponsored the circle of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, to local Muslims who questioned the master's powers, as well as merchants, followers of other Sufi teachers, and Christians, including various ethnic communities. While the text is important in terms of helping to elucidate Konya's social context, its author's inclusion of anecdotes and anachronisms makes it problematic as a historical source.[11] In terms of architecture and urban space, the text occasionally mentions sites where gatherings of Sufis and scholars took place, including the Karatay Medrese, hence providing some insight into the mixed use of such spaces.

Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's burial complex has been a museum since 1927. Yet despite the fact that it exhibits objects used in Mawlawī rituals for centuries, the complex retains its atmosphere as one of the most important holy sites in medieval—and early modern—Anatolia. Only the shrine of Hacı Bektaş Veli in the town of Hacıbektaş near Kayseri, and that of Seyyid Battal Gazi in Seyitgazi near Eskişehir were of similar importance throughout this period.[12] Because the Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī Complex was used actively for centuries, the monument as it stands today is the result of many phases of construction dating from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, as well as subsequent restorations. Consequently, only some elements of the architecture are the result of Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne*'s patronage. Other foundations in Sinop (discussed below) bear the few inscriptions preserving Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne*'s name, and a late thirteenth-century foundation by his daughter in Tokat (discussed in Chapter 4) preserves his memory in this city, over which he exerted control in the 1260s and 1270s.

After the temporary Mamluk invasion of Anatolia in 675/ 1277, the Ilkhanids increasingly established their presence in the region, leading to further changes in patronage. Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* was executed that same year for treason. Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī, now nominally more powerful than ever but closely supervised by the Ilkhanid center, passed away in 684/ 1285 and was buried in his mosque complex in Konya. During the following decades, the Ilkhanids increasingly controlled Anatolia through the appointment of governors from Iran, and patronage shifted. Chapter 3 looks at how patrons affiliated with the Ilkhanids in northeastern Anatolia, particularly in Erzurum, commissioned a few larger foundations, while Chapter 4 examines how, at the same time, patronage in Anatolia became increasingly a local affair, in the hands of Sufi communities and confraternities. During the period under analysis here, the political situation in Anatolia was further

[10] Küçükhüseyin, *Selbst- und Fremdwahrnehmung:* 315–6; Yıldız, "Mongol Rule in thirteenth-century Seljuk Anatolia:" 411–14.

[11] Küçükhüseyin, *Selbst- und Fremdwahrnehmung:* 316–21.

[12] Zeynep Yürekli, "Legend and Architecture in the Ottoman Empire," PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2005; Zeynep Yürekli, *Architecture and Hagiography in the Ottoman Empire: The Politics of Bektashi Shrines in the Classical Age*, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies vol. 12, Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012.

complicated by countless rebellions by local rulers, such as the Karamanids, who managed to take over Konya for six months during the Mamluk invasion.[13] These political changes had profound effects on the urban fabric of Konya, as we will see below. To understand the transformation the city underwent following the Mongol conquest, it is essential to examine the emergence and construction of Konya as the Seljuks' capital in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

Rebuilding Konya under 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād I

Once Konya was firmly established as the Seljuk capital, its expansion as a city worthy of this position began. A notable surge in construction took place during the rule of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād (r. 616–36/ 1220–37), who was a major patron of construction during the first half of the thirteenth century.[14] Immediately after his accession, the new sultan ordered the reconstruction of the city's walls, a project that required contributions from notables, as well as money from the treasury.[15] The notables who contributed, along with the sultan, are mentioned on fragments of the epigraphic program, which were retained after the walls were torn down in the late nineteenth century.[16] A major project was the transformation of the Great Mosque of Konya, known today as the Alaeddin Mosque (Figure 1.2), at the very center of the citadel hill, where the ruler's city palace also stood.

This monument was originally built during the twelfth century, possibly in the same year (550/ 1155) as the carved wooden *minbar* that has survived the many restorations of the mosque. In 1202, parts of the mosque collapsed in an earthquake, but it was subsequently reconstructed using a large number of architectural pieces from a ruined Byzantine church that had stood nearby and from other Byzantine buildings. Spolia from these structures are still visible in the mosque's outer walls, and in the columns and capitals of the prayer hall.[17] The reconstruction and remodeling may have begun under 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs I and was finished under his successor's rule. It is possible that there were more extensive plans to reshape the capital, but they were never fully realized.[18] Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād, during whose rule Seljuk power was at its height, completed the reconstruction of the mosque begun by his brother and predecessor. An analysis of the mosque's foundation inscriptions shows that the majority of the current structure dates to the reign of these two sultans in the early thirteenth century.[19]

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[13] Amitai, *Mongols and Mamluks:* 157–78; Reuven Amitai, "Mongol imperial ideology and the Ilkhanid war against the Mamluks," in: Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (eds) *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy*, Leiden: Brill, 1999, 57–72; Reuven Amitai, "Northern Syria between the Mongols and Mamluks: political boundary, military frontier, and ethnic affinities," in: Daniel Power and Naomi Standen (eds) *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700–1700*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999: 128–52; Yıldız, "Mongol Rule in thirteenth-century Seljuk Anatolia:" 599.

[14] Yalman, "Building the Sultanate of Rum."

[15] Ibn Bībī, *Selçuknâme*, tr. Yinanç: 81–2.

[16] Redford, "City Building:" 268–9.

[17] Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque:" 56, 60, 69.

[18] Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque:" 69.

[19] Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque:" 56–7.

1.2 Alaeddin Mosque, Konya, view of west façade seen from Karatay Medrese, author's photograph

According to Redford, the portal of the Karatay Medrese (dated 649/ 1251, see figures 1.7 and 1.8 below), located at the foot of the citadel hill, belongs stylistically to the same period as the closed-off portal on the west wall of the Alaeddin Mosque (Figure 1.3), and thus was probably part of this larger initial urban project.

Beyond the stylistic analogy, the main supporting evidence for this argument is the lack of a structural connection between the façade and the mid-thirteenth-century body of the madrasa, and inconsistencies in the foundation inscription, which suggest that it was inserted at a later date.[20] Within the mosque itself, the redecoration of the mausoleum, in which several Seljuk sultans are buried, appears to have been a key element of this larger project.[21]

The mausoleum of 'Izz al-Dīn Qilidj Arslān II (r. 551–81/ 1156–85) stands in the courtyard of the mosque, along with another anonymous structure of the same type. The original patron of this transformation project, 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs, however, is not buried here, but rather in the hospital he founded in Sivas in 614/ 1216–17, known today as the Şifaiye Medrese (see Chapter 2).[22] It is possible that 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād barred his brother and predecessor from being buried in the capital in retaliation for 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs's illegitimate takeover 20 years

[20] Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque:" 69. Crane points out that the titles and names used in the inscription are somewhat inconsistent, mixing the *laqab* of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād II with the *ism* of his oldest brother and co-ruler, 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs: Crane, "Materials:" 101–2; *RCEA*, no. 4333.

[21] Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque:" 70.

[22] M. Zeki Oral, "Konya'da Alâ üd-Din Camii ve türbeleri tarihi," *Ankara Üniversitesi İlâhiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* V (1956): 144–64.

1.3 Alaeddin Mosque, west portal (now closed), author's photograph

1.4 Seljuk kiosk in Konya in 1897, before its collapse, Friedrich Sarre, *Der Kiosk von Konia*, Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1936, pl. I

earlier, after the death of their father, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw I.[23] The overall project 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād established for his capital went hand in hand with the reconstruction of the city walls. A large number of classical spolia were integrated into the building fabric of the walls, in order to evoke Anatolia's pre-Islamic past as a means of conferring historical legitimacy on Seljuk rule in the region.[24]

[23] Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque:" 71–2.

[24] Redford, "The Seljuqs of Rum and the Antique:" 153–4; Yalman, "Building the Sultanate of Rum:" 36–40.

These spolia were combined with Persian inscriptions that referred to the *Shāhnāme* and mentioned the names of Seljuk sultans—including Kayqubād, Kaykāwūs, and Kaykhusraw—thus also evoking the Persianate culture of the Seljuk court.[25] The city walls of Konya, along with the Seljuk palace, are no longer extant, but fragments of their sculpted decoration, along with the so-called Kiosk of Konya, give an idea of the extent and splendor of the project.

The Kiosk (Figure 1.4), now entirely in ruins, still stood in the early twentieth century, when it was photographed, and a number of scholars commented on it.[26] The extensive tile and stucco decorations from this building, which was probably built as a lookout close to the city walls in the late twelfth century, have been preserved in museum collections in Berlin, Istanbul, and Konya. They are closely related to the decorative elements excavated in the 1960s at the palace of Kubādabād, which 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād commissioned on an island in Lake Beyşehir in the 1220s.[27] In addition to these urban structures, several smaller pavilions were built in rural locations around Konya and Antalya, which were used for the semi-itinerant Seljuk court's frequent hunting parties.[28] Overall, what emerges is the picture of a sultan who focused his urban patronage on the citadel hill of Konya, as well as on palaces and fortifications in other cities. Konya thus took shape as a capital, with representative walls that tied 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād's rule both to Anatolia's past and to the Persianate court culture of his ancestors, the Great Seljuks of Iran. Moreover, he supported the establishment of a network of caravanserais along the trade routes between major cities, including Konya, Kayseri, Sivas, Sinop, and Antalya, which increased the security and volume of trade (a development we will examine in greater length in Chapter 4). These networks of buildings representing Seljuk rule in the areas under 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād's hold were supplemented by his support for Sufis and scholars, particularly *shaykh* Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), whose impact in Anatolia will be discussed in Chapter 4.[29] This support for Sufi and ulema communities did not translate into architectural patronage quite yet. In the decades following 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād's rule, however, and particularly after the Mongol conquest in 639/1243, we will see increased construction of madrasas, *khānqāh*s, and *zāwiya*s.

[25] Redford, "The Seljuqs of Rum and the Antique:" 154–5; on the kiosk: Friedrich Sarre, *Der Kiosk von Konia*, Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1936.

[26] Friedrich Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien, Sommer 1895: Forschungen zur seldjukischen Kunst und Geographie des Landes*, Berlin: Geographische Verlagshandlung D. Reimer, 1896: 43–6; Josef Strzygowski, "Der Kiosk von Konia," *Zeitschrift fuer Geschichte der Architektur* 1 (1907–08): 3–9.

[27] Otto-Dorn, "Bericht über die Grabung in Kobadabad Oktober 1966"; Otto-Dorn and Önder, "Bericht über die Grabung in Kobadabad (Oktober 1965)"; Arık, *Kubad Abad—Selçuklu Saray ve Çinileri*.

[28] Scott Redford, *Landscape and the State in Medieval Anatolia: Seljuk Gardens and Pavilions of Alanya, Turkey*, Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000.

[29] Yalman, "Building the Sultanate of Rum:" 360–9; Yalman, "'Ala al-Din Kayqubad Illuminated".

Madrasas for ulema—*zāwiya*s for Sufi scholars

No assessment of the ulema in medieval Anatolia and of the buildings associated with them, the madrasas, can be complete without a look at Sufism and its architectural manifestations, namely *zāwiya*s, *khānqāh*s, and shrine complexes. The following analysis of the connection between madrasas, Sufism, and the Sunni Revival shows how madrasas played a rather different role in Anatolia than in the neighboring areas of northern Mesopotamia, for instance. Overall, madrasas in Anatolia seem to have been relatively flexible sites of religious instruction and interaction, where ulema and Sufis could interact and debate, if they wished to do so.

Beginning in the first decades of the thirteenth century, Sufis spread throughout Anatolia. Many of them were refugees from Central Asia and Iran, who fled from the Mongol conquest of these areas and played an important role in the Islamization of the region.[30] At the same time, the institution of the madrasa also had an impact on this prolonged process, judging from the significant number of such buildings constructed in the thirteenth century. With the establishment of *waqf* property that was tied to a religious foundation to produce revenue for maintenance and charitable functions, it became possible permanently to bind urban properties and agricultural lands (including former monastic estates and Christian villages) to an Islamic institution—a more stable investment than the absorption of these lands and their revenues into the royal treasury.[31]

At the same time, it is important to note that the ulema were a much smaller group, and perhaps also less clearly defined in Anatolia, than in other parts of the Islamic world—and the so-called Central Islamic Lands, in particular.[32] Thus, while biographical dictionaries from other regions, including Syria and Egypt, explain the lives, teachings, and studies of various members of the important ulema families in great detail, comparable volumes do not exist for pre-Ottoman Anatolia.[33] Consequently, any assessment of the ulema must rely on small snippets of information that can be gathered from other sources, including chronicles, *waqfiya*s, and inscriptions—material that, to date, no one has compiled for this specific purpose. The presence of a substantial number of madrasas across Anatolia, dating from the mid-twelfth to the fourteenth century, however, points to the importance

[30] Köprülü, *The Seljuks of Anatolia:* 5–6; Ömer Lüfti Barkan, "Osmanlı imparatorluğunda bir iskân ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak vakıflar ve temlikler I—İstilâ devirlerinin kolonizatör Türk dervişleri ve zâviyeler," *Vakıflar Dergisi* II (1942): 279–386.

[31] Gary Leiser, "The Madrasah and the Islamization of Anatolia before the Ottomans," in: Joseph E. Lowry et al. (eds) *Law and Education in Medieval Islam: Studies in Memory of Professor George Makdisi*, Cambridge: E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 2004: 187–91; Gary Leiser, "The Waqf as an Instrument of Cultural Transformation in Seljuk Anatolia," unpublished paper, presented at the 2010 Levi della Vida Conference, UCLA International Institute, 16 June 2010," Podcast, htttp://www.international.ucla.edu/article.asp?parentid=115701, accessed 14 January 2011.

[32] Sara Nur Yıldız and Haşim Şahin, "In the Proximity of Sultans: Majd al-Dīn Isḥāq, Ibn 'Arabī and the Seljuk Court," in: Andrew C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds) *The Seljuks of Anatolia—Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013: 173–205.

[33] Michael Milton Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994; Jonathan Porter Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992.

accorded to the teaching of Islamic law and the Qur'an—not surprising for a region that had come under Muslim rule only recently.[34]

From an architectural point of view, it is notable that, in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, clusters of madrasas were built in several Anatolian cities, including Sivas (discussed in Chapter 2) and Erzurum (see Chapter 3). While the Seljuk sultans ceased to be active as patrons after 639/ 1243, members of the court sponsored more construction projects than ever before.[35] Unlike previous decades, when *amīr*s had been required to contribute financially to sultanic construction projects, such as the renovation of the walls of Konya, Sivas, and Sinop, they were now free to act in their own interests. As the patronage of the Seljuk sultans declined, they were no longer in a position to demand help with such projects.[36] Once they fell under Mongol rule, the Seljuk sultans ceased to be patrons of architecture altogether; for the notables, this meant additional freedom in terms of what they invested in, now that they could establish their own foundations without any intervention from a Muslim overlord. As for the Mongol rulers, they themselves did not become active as patrons until the very end of the thirteenth century.

The new patrons who emerged in Anatolia after the Mongol conquest came from the ranks of the Seljuk elite, and included figures such as the viziers Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy (d. 652/ 1254) and Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī (d. 684/ 1285). Several patrons known to have built madrasas were also responsible for the construction of structures intended for use by Sufi groups, thereby extending their support to a broad spectrum of religious figures. They include Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī, who added a *khānqāh* (dated 678/ 1279) to the large funerary complex he built near the Larende Gate in Konya and also constructed madrasas in Konya, Sivas, and Akşehir. His rival Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* built a madrasa in Sinop (dated 661/ 1263), a mosque in Merzifon (dated 663/1265), and the Great Mosque of Sinop.[37] Moreover, he was a major patron of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, whose mausoleum complex he and his wife commissioned.[38]

While there was no separate patronage for madrasas and *zāwiya*s in the mid-thirteenth century, these monuments were not always endowed for exclusive use by one group. Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and some of his followers frequented madrasas in Konya, intermingling with other Sufis as well as with ulema. Hence, I would argue

[34] Metin Sözen, *Anadolu Medreseleri: Selçuklu ve Beylikler devri*, two vols., Istanbul: İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi—Mimarlık Tarihi ve Rölöve Kürsüsü, 1970 lists extant 88 madrasas; Aptullah Kuran, *Anadolu Medreseleri*, Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 1969 lists 44 extant monuments. The numbers compare favorably to those of known madrasas in Damascus and Cairo, although the discrepancy between one city compared to an entire region is striking: Leiser, "The Madrasah:" 175–6.

[35] Crane, "Notes on Saljūq Architectural Patronage:" 6–8.

[36] On these projects, see: Redford, "City Building"; Redford, "The Seljuqs of Rum and the Antique:" 152–3. The inscriptions and the contributions of individual *amīr*s are analyzed in detail in: Redford, "Sinop in the Summer of 1215".

[37] M. Kemal Şahin, "Pervane Muineddin Süleyman ve Oğullarının yaptırdığı yapılar üzerine bazı gözlemler," in: Haşim Karpuz and Osman Eravşar (eds) *Konya Kitabı*, vol. X, *Yeni İpek Yolu Dergisi,* Özel Sayı (2007): 543–78; Franz Taeschner, "Die «Große Moschee» (Ulu Cami) in Sinop," *Atti del secondo congresso internazionale di arte turca, Venice, 26–29 September 1963*, Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale—Seminario di Turcologia, 1965: 249–52; Halil Edhem (Eldem), "Merzifon'da Pervane Muîniddin Süleyman Namına Bir Kitâbe," *TOEM* 7/ 43 (1334/ 1917): 42–52.

[38] Michael Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen Seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien*, two vols., Istanbuler Mitteilungen 13, Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1976, vol. 2: 345.

for some caution in considering Ethel Sara Wolper's suggestion that madrasas were limited for use by ulema while *zāwiya*s were intended for Sufi communities.[39] Similarly, it is not entirely clear that patrons preferred building smaller structures for Sufis (such as *zāwiya*s and mausolea) solely because of their lower cost, since they were unable to finance large-scale constructions like mosques and madrasas.[40] At least in the second half of the thirteenth century, as we will see below, patrons often chose multiple types of buildings on various scales to spread their support widely. As Howard Crane has noted, and this book will further affirm, non-royal patrons of some importance continued to sponsor large foundations—indeed, they were the main patrons of such structures from the 1240s at least into the 1280s.[41] These bureaucrats and military commanders (roles not entirely distinct from each other) amassed considerable wealth, as studies of their endowments show—most recently in an analysis of the *waqf* of Nūr al-Dīn Jājā, centered in Kırşehir but with properties spread across larger areas of central Anatolia.[42]

In Konya, as well as in several other Anatolian cities, madrasas continued to be built, often along with structures intended for Sufis and sponsored by the same patrons. Moreover, Aflākī mentions the presence of Sufis at the Karatay Medrese.[43] This observation further calls into question the notion of a clear distinction, in use and affiliated persons, between the two types of structures. It was only in the fourteenth century, as Anatolia became completely destabilized, and political authority unwound with the impending collapse of Ilkhanid rule, that local Sufi communities emerged as the sole patrons of small structures for their own use. These patrons, who will be the focus of Chapter 4, were often local community leaders who commissioned monuments and endowed local villages and arable lands for them, on a scale that probably went unnoticed by the Ilkhanid administration.

While the emergence of Sufism in Anatolia is not the subject of my study, it is important to note the differences between the various groups present in the region that are subsumed under this term in modern historiography.[44] The term Sufi is in and of itself problematic in seeming to suggest a uniform group of mystically inclined religious figures, when in fact there is an important distinction between antinomian Sufis, such as the Qalandars and the Abdāls of Rūm, who left society by rejecting social norms, and those organized in orders (*ṭarīqa*s), who did not exclude themselves fully from the larger community.[45] Throughout the later Middle Ages

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[39] Ethel Sara Wolper, *Cities and Saints: Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia*, University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003: 67–9.

[40] Wolper, *Cities and Saints:* 24–7.

[41] Crane, "Notes on Saljūq Architectural Patronage"; Rogers, "Patronage in Seljuk Anatolia, 1200–1300."

[42] Judith Pfeiffer, "Protecting private property vs negotiating political authority: Nur al-Din Jaja and his endowments in thirteenth-century Anatolia," in: Robert Hillenbrand et al. (eds) *Ferdowsi, the Mongols and the History of Iran: Art Literature and Culture from Early Islam to Qajar Persia*, London: I. B. Tauris, 2013: 147–65. I thank Dr Pfeiffer for providing me with her article before publication.

[43] Aflākī, *The Feats of the Knowers of God,* tr. O' Kane: 386–7; Leiser, "The Madrasah:" 184–5.

[44] Ahmet T. Karamustafa, "Origins of Anatolian Sufism," in: Ahmet Yaşar Ocak (ed.) *Sufism and Sufis in Ottoman Society: Sources, Doctrine, Rituals, Turuq, Architecture, Literature and Fine Arts, Modernism*, Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 2005: 67–95; Bashir, *Sufi Bodies:* 1–7.

[45] Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends—Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period, 1220–1550*, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994: 1–5, 13–23.

many other groups, including the intellectual elite and the rather bookish ulema, despised the antinomian dervishes. Even non-deviant Sufis who had gradually become part of the intellectual establishment were critical of these groups and wished to distinguish their own practice from them.[46]

Consequently, some Sufis, including Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, were part of the intellectual elite; in his letters, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī repeatedly appealed to members of the Seljuk elite for financial and political support, displaying a clear desire to be part of larger networks of patronage.[47] And Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī is only one example of a Sufi leader who was clearly interested in political activity and sought to make connections with the ruling elite—although he refrained from directly contacting the Mongol overlords, whom he despised, preferring instead to establish ties with figures such as Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne*.[48] The fact that the latter provided patronage to Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī poses the question of who supported Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunawī, another important religious figure in Konya and Rūmī's contemporary, during his lifetime.

Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunawī was the son of Majd al-Dīn Isḥāq, a notable at the court of 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs I (r. 608–16/ 1211–20), who met the great Sufi master Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī while on pilgrimage to Mecca. Majd al-Dīn Isḥāq was able to return to Anatolia after several years in exile and Ibn 'Arabī followed him to Konya, where he is documented in 602/ 1205.[49] Although the sources are not entirely clear on the matter, it appears that after Majd al-Dīn Isḥāq's death (sometime after 611/ 1214) Ibn 'Arabī married his widow and became Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunawī's teacher. The latter would become the most important representative of this line of Sufism in Anatolia after his return there following extensive travels with his master and stepfather, who settled in Damascus in 615/ 1218 and died there in 637/ 1240.[50] Little is known about the life of Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunawī and, unfortunately, all that remains of his thirteenth-century mausoleum in the Sadreddin Konevi Mosque southwest of the citadel mound, which has largely been replaced by a late nineteenth-century structure, is a foundation inscription that does not mention the name of a patron.[51] The inscription does, however, include a short passage referring to the endowment of books that were provided for the use of impoverished scholars (*al-fuqarā' min aṣḥāb 'l-mutawajjihīn*)—perhaps further blurring the distinction between ulema and Sufis in Konya.[52]

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[46] Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends:* 6–8.

[47] Peacock, "Sufis and the Seljuk Court in Mongol Anatolia:" 206–26; Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Mevlânâ Celâleddin—Mektuplar*, tr. Gölpınarlı, nos. II, XXVI, XXXI, XXXVI–XXXVII, XLII, LVIII, LXVI, LXVIII, LXXVIII.

[48] Peacock, "Sufis and the Seljuk Court:" 210–16.

[49] Claude Addas, *Ibn 'Arabī ou la quête du soufre rouge,* Paris: Gallimard, 1989: 267–9; Yıldız and Şahin, "In the Proximity of Sultans:" 184–6; William C. Chittick, "Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ b. Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Ḳūnawī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/sadr-al-din-muhammad-b-ishak-b-muhammad-b-yunus-al-kunawi-SIM_6431, accessed 27 May 2013.

[50] Addas, *Ibn 'Arabī*: 269–71.

[51] Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: 352–4.

[52] "Anshā' hādhihi 'l-'imāra 'l-mubāraka ma'a 'l-turba 'l-latī fīhā lil-shaykh 'l-imām 'l-muḥaqqaq 'l-'ālim 'l-rabbānī Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Isḥāq bin Muḥammad raḍiya 'llāh 'anhu wa dār 'l-kutub 'l-latī fīhā lahu ayḍan ma'a kutub mawqūfa 'alayhā kamān dhukira dhāalika wa-shuriṭa wa buyyina fī 'l-waqfīya bi-rasam 'l-fuqarā' min aṣḥāb 'l-mutawajjihīn bi-qulūbihim wa-qālibihim ilā 'llāh ta'ālā fī shuhūr sana thalath wa-saba'īn wa-sittamā'ia." *RCEA*, no. 4694.

Some scholars consider that monuments constructed specifically for use by Sufi groups were a means of limiting potential unrest, in particular after the Baba Resul revolt erupted in the region of Amasya in the 1240s, badly shaking the Seljuk sultanate on the eve of the Mongol conquest.[53] Indeed, perhaps the revolt was even a major cause of the instability that facilitated this conquest in the first place, even though Baba Resul's motives remain a source of debate.[54] According to this line of thought, the construction of *zāwiya*s would politically neutralize Sufi groups, indebting them to their patrons and making them unlikely candidates for restive actions.[55] This assumption, however, is based on the idea that a Sufi leader who is tied to a patron no longer needs to be reckoned with as a political force. The case of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, who was clearly supporting the interests of his followers even as he accepted monetary gifts from patrons, including Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* and Gurjī Khātūn,[56] shows that such a clear-cut separation is inaccurate in some cases. As Andrew Peacock has argued, the role of Sufi leaders as politically active figures should not be underestimated and should be taken into account especially when it comes to critiques of sources close to them who, like Aflākī, tended to focus on their spiritual accomplishments while downplaying their worldly concerns.[57]

The emphasis on Sufism as the main factor in the development of architecture in this period may be somewhat narrow, and it excludes, or at least marginalizes, other types of buildings not directly related to Sufism. Wolper argues that, in some instances, mostly between 1240 and 1275, *zāwiya*s were built in the vicinity of existing madrasas to ensure that anyone entering the older building could not help but notice the new construction.[58] The problem with this argument is that it both contradicts the earlier argument that the two building types had strictly separate uses and implies that madrasas were in some ways tangential to the changes that occurred in the urban context, which were encouraged by the construction of *zāwiya.* There is some tension between Wolper's claim that Sufis were critical of the scholars employed in the madrasas and the Sufis' documented reliance on the institution of the *waqf* (approved and legalized by ulema).[59] Still, the material need of the Sufi groups to assure their *zāwiya*s' legal status and the protection of their property probably prevailed over the theological dispute in many cases, at least to the extent that *waqfiya*s were confirmed for these buildings—an observation that may say much about how flexible *waqf* could be as a tool to preserve property. In Ilkhanid Iran in the fourteenth century, madrasas and *khānqāh*s could be part of

[53] Wolper, *Cities and Saints*, 13, 100–01.

[54] Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *La révolte de Baba Resul ou la formation de l'hétérodoxie musulmane en Anatolie au XIIIe siècle*, Ankara: Imprimerie de la Société turque d'histoire, 1989; Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "La «révolte» des Baba'î en 1240, visait-elle vraiment le renversement du pouvoir seldjoukide?" *Turcica* 30 (1998): 99–118.

[55] Wolper, *Cities and Saints:* 59, 100–01.

[56] Aflākī, tr. Yazıcı: 163, 243, 369–70, 389.

[57] Peacock, "Sufis and the Seljuk Court in Mongol Anatolia:" 207–10.

[58] Wolper, *Cities and Saints:* 42–59. An example of such an ensemble, according to Wolper, is the Gök Medrese Mosque (undated) and the Torumtay Mausoleum (679/ 1280–81) in Amasya: Wolper, *Cities and Saints:* 61–2.

[59] Wolper, *Cities and Saints:* 24.

the same multifunctional complexes, perhaps in an attempt to neutralize potential tensions between different currents in the practice of Islam.[60] This blurring of boundaries between madrasas and *khānqāh*s is also reflected in Aflākī's *Manāqib al-'ārifīn*, in which disciples of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī can be found living in and visiting both types of institutions, even though tensions between the Sufis and ulema arise elsewhere in the text.[61]

As previously mentioned, large numbers of scholars were forced to emigrate from Central Asia, and many had to make a new home for themselves in Anatolia. The construction of madrasas in this region throughout the thirteenth century may have begun in response to the arrival of these highly qualified immigrants, who were in a position to contribute to the development of Muslim scholarship in Anatolia, and of the students they subsequently trained; even though, in many cases, their names are not known today, further study of hagiographies as historical sources, rather than as mere tales of saints' lives, might begin to fill in some of these gaps.[62]

SPOLIA AND THE SUNNI REVIVAL IN ANATOLIA AND NORTHERN SYRIA

In terms of religious institutions, we have seen that circumstances in medieval Anatolia were probably not as static as the idea of a diametrical opposition between *zāwiya*s and madrasas as spaces reserved for their respective groups would suggest. From the few references to madrasas in written sources, it appears that the role of these monuments was very different in Anatolia from what it was in Seljuk Iran in the late eleventh century, when the grand vizier Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 494/ 1092) used madrasas as a tool to reinvigorate Sunni Islam in the face of a Shi'ite challenge.[63] That movement, known in modern scholarship as the Sunni Revival, expanded into Syria in the early twelfth century, leading to changes in calligraphy and architecture there.[64] In northern Syria, the Sunni Revival began in the late eleventh century, under the influence of the Great Seljuks in Iran, and expanded during the rule of Nūr al-Dīn Zengī (r. 541–69/ 1147–74), who made Aleppo a center of this movement.[65] A similar Sunni revival did not take place in Anatolia, for the simple reason that Islam was not yet sufficiently established there at the time. Moreover, in the frontier environment of Anatolia, the distinction between orthodoxy and heterodoxy—as problematic as these terms are—was utterly blurred, discouraging any attempts to create a unified religious identity.[66]

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[60] For instance in the Rab'-i Rashīdī: Sheila S. Blair, "Ilkhanid architecture and society: an analysis of the endowment deed of the Rab'-i Rashīdī," *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 22 (1984): 83.

[61] Aflākī, *The Feats of the Knowers of God*, tr. O' Kane: 150, 210–11.

[62] I thank Professor Shahzad Bashir for this suggestion.

[63] George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of learning in Islam and the West*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981; Yasser Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001.

[64] For an early critique of the notion of Sunni Revival see George Makdisi, "The Sunni Revival," in: D.S. Richards (ed.) *Islamic Civilisation, 950–1150*, Oxford: Cassirer, 1973: 155–68. More recently, the term has been questioned in: Peacock, *Early Seljūq History:* 99–127.

[65] Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art*; Yasser Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo*, University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007.

[66] Kafadar, "A Rome of One's Own:" 10.

The Sunni Revival in the twelfth century had a clear impact on architecture in Syria—alternatively referred to as a classical "revival" (by Yasser Tabbaa and Julian Raby) or "survival" (by Terry Allen and J. Michael Rogers)—particularly in Aleppo.[67] In Syria, the inspiration sought in classical architectural motifs, both through the reuse of spolia and the recreation of pieces that evoke them, was connected to the revival of Sunni Islam. The construction of some monuments in Aleppo, including the Madrasa al-Shu'aybīya in the last years of Nūr al-Dīn Zengī's rule, and the transformation of a Shi'ite mosque (and former church) into the Madrasa Hallawīya in 543/ 1122, were most likely part of an anti-Shi'ite polemic.[68] The so-called Qaṣṭal al-Shu'aybīya in Aleppo (545/1150–51) for instance (the only remaining section of the Madrasa al-Shu'aybīya) includes a carved entablature whose profile evokes a classical example, but which is decorated with an inscription in Arabic. At the same time, spolia were also used in the construction of the building.[69] In the Māristān Nūrī in Damascus (548/ 1154), a classical tympanum was integrated into the doorframe to provide a specific reference to the local past in a building otherwise inspired by monuments in Iraq, a region that was also under Nūr al-Dīn Zengī's rule.[70]

Such references to classical architecture are considered specific to this moment, and they disappeared when power shifted from the Zengids to the Ayyubids in Syria in the 1180s. Under Ayyubid rule in the thirteenth century, one particular architectural element, *muqarnas* niches over doorways, became a dominant element in architecture.[71] Subsequently, especially with the presence of stone carvers from northern Syria during the reconstruction of Konya under 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād, such elements also became increasingly common in Anatolia, along with the reuse—more practically than ideologically inspired perhaps—of spolia, as the façade of the Alaeddin Mosque shows. In Konya, one of the most striking uses of spolia can be found on the portal of the Sahib Ata Complex, built in 656/ 1258, which has two sarcophagi integrated into its base (Figure 1.5).

Here, as with the use of spolia in the city walls of Konya, discussed above, these reused objects may have been a reference to the past of the city, or of Anatolia as a whole, within a building complex that, as we will see below, strongly preserved the memory of its founder, Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī. At the same time, the rest of the Sahib Ata Complex does not resort to spolia, but rather uses an architecture that was to become identified with the patron himself. In the discussion of the Sahib Ata

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[67] Terry Allen, *A Classical Revival in Islamic Architecture*, Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1986; J. Michael Rogers, "A Renaissance of Classical Antiquity in North Syria," *Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes* 21 (1971): 347–56; Yasser Tabbaa, "Survivals and Archaisms in the Architecture of Northern Syria, ca. 1080–ca. 1150," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 29–41; These three publications are discussed in: Julian Raby, "Nur Al-Din, the Qastal al-Shu'aybiyya, and the 'Classical Revival'," *Muqarnas* 21 (2004): 289–310.

[68] Raby, "Nur al-Din:" 296–9.

[69] Raby, "Nur al-Din:" 289–91, 294–300 and Figs. 1–2, 6–9.

[70] Raby, "Nur al-Din:" 300–01.

[71] Allen, *Classical Revival:* ix, suggests a direct connection between changes in rule and architecture; for the religious and political background of the passage from Zengid to Ayyubid rule, see: Daniella Talmon-Heller, *Islamic Piety in Medieval Syria: Mosques, Cemeteries and Sermons under the Zangids and Ayyūbids (1146–1260)*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007. On the occasionally blurred boundaries of Shi'te and Sunni patronage of shrines, see: Stephennie Mulder, *The Shrines of the 'Alids in Medieval Syria: Sunnis, Shi'is and the Architecture of Coexistence,* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014.

1.5 Sahib Ata Complex, detail of spolia on portal, author's photograph

Complex below, and of Ṣāḥib ʿAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī's madrasa in Sivas (in Chapter 2) I will further explore the specific meaning that elements of decoration, and particularly their combination, took on.

In Konya, just as in Syria 50 years earlier, even as spolia were reused, pieces closely resembling classical models were also carved, for instance the acanthus capitals on the portal of the Karatay Medrese. While the use of newly carved pieces inspired by classical models in Anatolia fits into the same architectural context as that outlined for northern Syria, the ideological context was probably quite different. Scholars have not remarked on the carving of pieces that resemble classical ones in Anatolia as a special feature that has its own implications in relating architectural decoration to political and religious agendas. In contrast, they have interpreted the actual classical pieces reused in Konya as a reference to the city's past, specifically to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayqubād's role as the ruler of Rūm.[72]

The chronological gap of roughly half a century between the use of these elements in the two neighboring regions suggests that the ideological connotations were not transferred directly from Zengid Syria to Seljuk Anatolia. The notions of memory and historical awareness, however, are important factors to consider when investigating the role of these spolia. The strong reference to, and replication of, classical models is not recorded in the written sources, yet the architectural evidence suggests there was an interest in reusing and reproducing such elements that sometimes went beyond practical purposes. The occasional use of specific pieces, such as rare capitals and columns, seems to have been most common, along with the reuse of marble blocks, which could be considered a rare material; although very complex programs were also established, such as those on the city walls of Konya, discussed above. We will see throughout this study that the paradigms of patronage and style in medieval Anatolia changed frequently, to the point that almost every monument discussed here has its own significance, hidden in its decorative program—including stone carving, tiles, and inscriptions.

Overall, the idea of a Sunni revival probably did not play a major role in motivating the construction of madrasas in thirteenth-century Anatolia. Rather, the latter was probably the result of several factors, including patronage for the ulema and the establishment of endowments in an area where, for the most part, mosques had already been built in the twelfth century. Thus, madrasas were an ideal way to invest locally by creating urban structures that could be supported with income from properties in the city and on the surrounding agricultural land. Moreover, madrasas served an important charitable function for Muslim scholars as centers of education, while, at the same time, their kitchens (which operated in the madrasas or in nearby buildings, providing meals to the students) could also distribute food to poor residents in the surrounding area. By constructing a madrasa and putting his relatives or descendants in the position of overseer (*mutawallī*), a founder could thus secure his investments while simultaneously establishing a crucial charitable institution that supported scholars and local residents.

[72] Raby, "Nur Al-Din:" 305.

Madrasas in Konya

In the context of the foundations built in Konya between the 1240s and 1270s, the construction of large madrasas, three of which are still preserved today, is particularly striking. In terms of their architecture, the monuments are related to other buildings of the same type in Sivas, Akşehir, Kayseri, and Çay, where the so-called Taş Medrese (677/ 1278–79) was built with a large dome covering its courtyard, probably inspired by two earlier monuments in Konya that are discussed below.[73] Although the rise in the number of madrasas in Konya was not as sudden as in Sivas, where three of these buildings (discussed in Chapter 2) were built in the course of one year (670/ 1271–72), their impact on the urban fabric must nevertheless have been considerable. A close analysis of the architecture of the three surviving monuments in Konya, and of the history of their foundation, to the extent that it is known, reveals the changing dynamics of urbanism and patronage in the city during this period.

SIRÇALI MEDRESE

The Sırçalı Medrese (Figure 1.6) was built in 640/ 1243, just as the Mongols began to take hold of Anatolia, and was commissioned by one Badr al-Dīn Muṣliḥ, probably the vizier Lālā Muṣliḥ, who served 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād and died after 656/ 1258. His mausoleum is probably located in the madrasa, though none of the three cenotaphs in the burial chamber bear identifying inscriptions.[74] The Sırçalı Medrese is located south of the citadel hill, along a road that today leads towards the Sahib Ata Complex near the Larende Gate.

In addition to the usual information regarding the founder—his titles and the date of construction—the foundation inscription states that the scholars to be employed in the madrasa should be of the Ḥanafī *madhhab,* one of the four schools of Sunni Islamic law:

> The Sultanic.[75] Badr al-Dīn Muṣliḥ, may God extend his prosperity, pining for the grace of his Lord, ordered the construction of this blessed madrasa during the rule of the greatest sultan, the shadow of God in the world Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn, highest of Islam and of the Muslims, the father of conquest Kaykhusraw b. Kayqubād, associate of the prince of believers. He [the patron] endowed it [the madrasa] for the scholars and students of law among the followers of Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān [the founder of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*] may God be pleased with him, in the year 640 (1243).[76]

[73] *RCEA,* no. 4766; Sözen, *Anadolu Medreseleri*, vol. 2: 75–9.

[74] Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: 260, 270; İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Abideleri ve kitabeleri ile Konya tarihi*, Konya: Yeni Kitap Basımevi, 1964: 733–5.

[75] Leiser takes this term as an indication that the madrasa was a royal foundation: Leiser, "The Madrasah:" 177.

[76] "Al-sulṭānī. Rasama bi-'imāra hādhihi 'l-madrasa 'l-mubāraka fī dawla 'l-sulṭān 'l-a'ẓam ẓill allāh fī 'l-'ālam Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn 'alā 'l-islām wa 'l-muslimīn abī 'l-fatḥ Kaykhusraw b. Kayqubād qasīm amīr 'l-mu'minīn 'l-faqīr ilā raḥma rabbihī Badr al-Dīn Muṣliḥ adāma 'llāh tawfīqahū waqafahā 'alā 'l-fuqahā' wa 'l-mutafaqqiha min aṣḥāb Abī Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān raḍiya 'llāhu 'anhū fī sana arba'īn wa-sittamā'ia." My transliteration and translation after *RCEA*, no. 4211.

1.6 Sırçalı Medrese, Konya, view, author's photograph

Such precision in defining the school of law to which a madrasa's employees should adhere is relatively rare in Anatolia, perhaps also because the Seljuk rulers themselves were mostly Ḥanafī.[77] Only a few of the *waqfiya*s from Anatolia that have been preserved specify the *madhhab,* and those that do usually express a preference for Ḥanafī scholars. The *waqfiya* of the Karatay Medrese (649/ 1251) in Konya, for example, states: "And he [the founder] stipulated that the *mudarris* (teacher of Islamic law in a madrasa) should be Ḥanafī, knowledgeable in the arts of the sciences of sharia (Islamic law) and *ḥadīth* (traditions of the Prophet) and exegesis, and theoretical and applied law and disputation."[78] A notable exception to this rule is the *waqfiya* of the Gök Medrese in Sivas, which mentions both the Shāfi'ī and Ḥanafī *madhhab*s.[79]

The Sırçalı Medrese itself, like many contemporary examples in medieval Anatolia, is arranged according to a two *īwān*-plan, with the *īwān*s on the longitudinal axis of the building, facing each other across an open courtyard.[80] What is remarkable is the monument's extensive decoration: all of its inner walls were originally covered in glazed-tile mosaics, to an extent that is rare even in Konya and that, with very few exceptions, is not found anywhere further east in Anatolia. The most closely related

77 Scott Redford, "The Inscription of the Kırkgöz Hanı and the Problem of Textual Transmission in Seljuk Anatolia," *Adalya* XII (2009), no. 13; Leiser, "The Madrasah:" 177–82.

78 "wa sharaṭa an yakūna 'l-mudarris ḥanafī 'l-madhhaba 'ārifan bi-funūn 'ulūm 'l-sharī'a wa-l-aḥādīth wa-l-tafāsīr wa-l-uṣūl wa-l-furū' wa-l-khilāf," my transliteration and translation after Turan, "Selçuklu vakfiyeleri III:" 130.

79 See Chapter 2.

80 For the plan, see: Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: Fig. 38.

examples in Anatolia, both in plan and decoration, are the Gök Medrese in Sivas (where only parts of the lateral *īwān*s were decorated), the Great Mosque of Malatya (dated 645/ 1247), and the Gök Medrese in Tokat (c. 1270–80), where fragments of similarly glazed-tile decoration are preserved in the courtyard.[81] The date of the Sırçalı Medrese's decoration is particularly noteworthy: with an inscribed date of 640/ 1243, it is the earliest example of such extensive tile mosaics in Konya. Other examples are either later, including the Karatay Medrese and Sahib Ata Complex, discussed below, or undated, such as the large-scale *miḥrāb* in the Alaeddin Mosque, which Meinecke places around 1235.[82]

Inside the main *īwān*, the artist responsible for the tile decorations included his signature on two medallions inlaid with tile pieces: Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Ṭūsī.[83] His origins in the city of Ṭūs in Iran show a connection between the two regions that would only be reinforced by the incoming Mongol conquest, as Anatolia was also absorbed into this realm. Based on stylistic observations, the same craftsman and his workshop may also have been responsible for the tile decoration in several other contemporary buildings in Konya, including the Karatay Medrese in 649/ 1251 and the *miḥrāb* of the Alaeddin Mosque in the 1230s.[84] Compared with the richly decorated interior, the façade is rather plain: only a few bands of geometric decoration run along the salient portal, and the foundation inscription is the only text present. According to Meinecke, the building fell out of use in 1924 and was restored in 1954; since the 1960s, it has served to display tombstones from the collection of the Konya Museums.[85] The tile decoration must originally have covered most of the building's interior; additional fragments found during the restoration were taken to the museum in Konya.[86] As far as it is possible to make such a deduction from the surviving monuments, the Sırçalı Medrese is the earliest example in Konya of the type of extensive tile mosaic decoration that would reach new heights in monuments built after 1250, including the Karatay Medrese, the foundation of a well-known patron located at the foot of the citadel hill.

KARATAY MEDRESE

Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy, (d. 652/ 1254), a vizier well known both for his political role before and after the Mongol conquest, and for his extensive activity as a patron of architecture, is the patron of the Karatay Medrese, a monument dated 649/ 1251. The *waqfīya* of Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy provides extensive information regarding his endowments, along with some background on his family.[87]

The madrasa (Figure 1.7) is located at the foot of the citadel hill of Konya, in view of the Alaeddin Mosque and just across the street from the ruins of the Seljuk Kiosk,

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[81] Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: 269. The monuments in Sivas and Tokat are discussed in Chapter 2.

[82] Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen,* vol. 2: 270.

[83] *RCEA,* no. 4212, Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: 259. The second part of the inscription, with a Persian verse, is now in the Museum for Islamic Art in Berlin, Inv. No. I.904.

[84] Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen,* vol. 2: 271.

[85] Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen,* vol. 2: 260; Mahmut Akok, "Konya'da Sırçalı Medresenin rölöve ve mimarisi," *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* XVIII.1 (1969): 5–35.

[86] Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: 260–68.

[87] Turan, "Selçuklu devri vakfiyeleri III:" 47–9.

1.7 Karatay Medrese, Konya, view, author's photograph

which had been placed very prominently on the citadel walls. The choice of location thus clearly indicates the important position Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy maintained during the rule of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II (r. 636–44/ 1237–46), even though the madrasa's position was decided after the death of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād I, Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy's initial supporter. Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy remained prominent during the last years of his life, under the joint rule of the brothers 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs, 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād II, and Rukn al-Dīn Qilij Arslān IV, which dissolved after Qaraṭāy's death in 652/ 1254.[88]

The life of the founder is outlined in Turan's study of Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy's *waqfīya*s, which include documents that pertain to the madrasa in Konya, to the Karatay Han, a caravanserai completed in the 1240s,[89] and to a no-longer-extant *zāwiya* and *masjid* founded by Qaraṭāy's brother Kamāl al-Dīn Ramtāsh.[90] Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy's origins are not quite clear: while Ibn Bībī suggests that he was of Rūmī background, Turan rightly notes that, by the late thirteenth century, when the Seljuk chronicler wrote, this term might have meant Christian, or Greek, or even Turkish (though this last possibility seems less likely in view of the family's late conversion to Islam).

[88] Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye:* 485–97; Turan, "Selçuklu devri vakfiyeleri III:" 22–43 for details of Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy's career; Crane, "Materials:" 19–50.

[89] Kurt Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, three vols., Istanbuler Forschungen Bd. 21, 31, Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1961–1976, vol. 1: 117–25.

[90] Turan, "Selçuklu devri vakfiyeleri III:" 89.

1.8 Karatay Medrese, Konya, portal, author's photograph

The patronymic ʿAbdallāh, used consistently in all documents referring to Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy, clearly suggests that he was the son of a non-Muslim father.[91]

It is impossible to know with certainty whether Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy and his brothers, Kamāl al-Dīn Ramtāsh and Sayf al-Dīn Qarasunghūr, were slaves at some point, yet Turan suggests that, if they were, the three brothers could not have been captured at a very young age, considering the family connection they maintained.[92] Successful for several decades in the service of the Seljuk sultans, Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy eventually amassed enough wealth to establish several endowments in Konya and its immediate region. The largest extant monuments are the Karatay Medrese and the Karatay Han, both of which were richly endowed with property. While the Karatay Han also contains a mausoleum (a somewhat unusual addition for a caravanserai), Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy was probably buried in his madrasa in Konya.[93]

The Karatay Medrese is a particularly prominent example of the sort of extensive and costly construction projects that elite patrons in thirteenth-century Anatolia were able to sponsor. Its portal (Figure 1.8), which is not joined to the body of the building (and thus may have been the result of an earlier construction campaign, as van Berchem and, later, Redford have argued), is stylistically closely related to the closed-off portal on the façade of the Alaeddin Mosque that looks towards the madrasa.[94]

The bi-chrome stonework (*ablaq*) that appears on the Karatay Medrese's portal is very similar to that on the Alaeddin Mosque, likely the work of craftsmen from northern Syria in the 1220s. It is possible that a portal built at the same time as the Alaeddin Mosque (as part of a vaster project of urban transformation that was never completed) was restored and reused to construct the madrasa. The new foundation inscription may have been added at a later point.[95] On the other hand, the portal may have been constructed specifically for the madrasa; the carving is considerably subtler than on the mosque, and the likeliest indication of reuse is the somewhat awkward lettering of the foundation inscription.

Overall, the composition of the Karatay Medrese portal is more balanced than that of the Alaeddin Mosque, forming a rectangular bloc that is neatly delineated by a band of geometric decoration. The west portal of the Alaeddin Mosque lacks such definition, the frameless portal ornamentation merging with the wall. Two elements are nearly identical in both portals: first, the bi-colored stone interlace over the door, whose affinity with northern Syrian work of the same period (seen in Aleppo in particular, for instance on the *miḥrāb* of the Madrasa al-Firdaws, built in 633/ 1235–36) has often been noted;[96] and second, the molded rectangular

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[91] Turan, "Selçuklu devri vakfiyeleri III:" 18–19; on the use of the patronymic Ibn ʿAbdallāh by converts to Islam, see also: Annemarie Schimmel, *Islamic Names*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989: 8.

[92] Turan, "Selçuklu devri vakfiyeleri III:" 20–21.

[93] Erdmann notes that a room in the Karatay Han contains a cenotaph, and suggests that the founder was buried here: Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansary*, vol. 1: 121–2, 124. According to Turan, Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy was buried in the madrasa in Konya: Turan, "Selçuklu devri vakfiyeleri III:" 42–3.

[94] Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque:" 69–71; Max van Berchem and Edmond Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie,* Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1914, vol. 1: 220–21.

[95] *RCEA*, no. 4333.

[96] Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power and Piety*, 168–81 and Figs. 200–01.

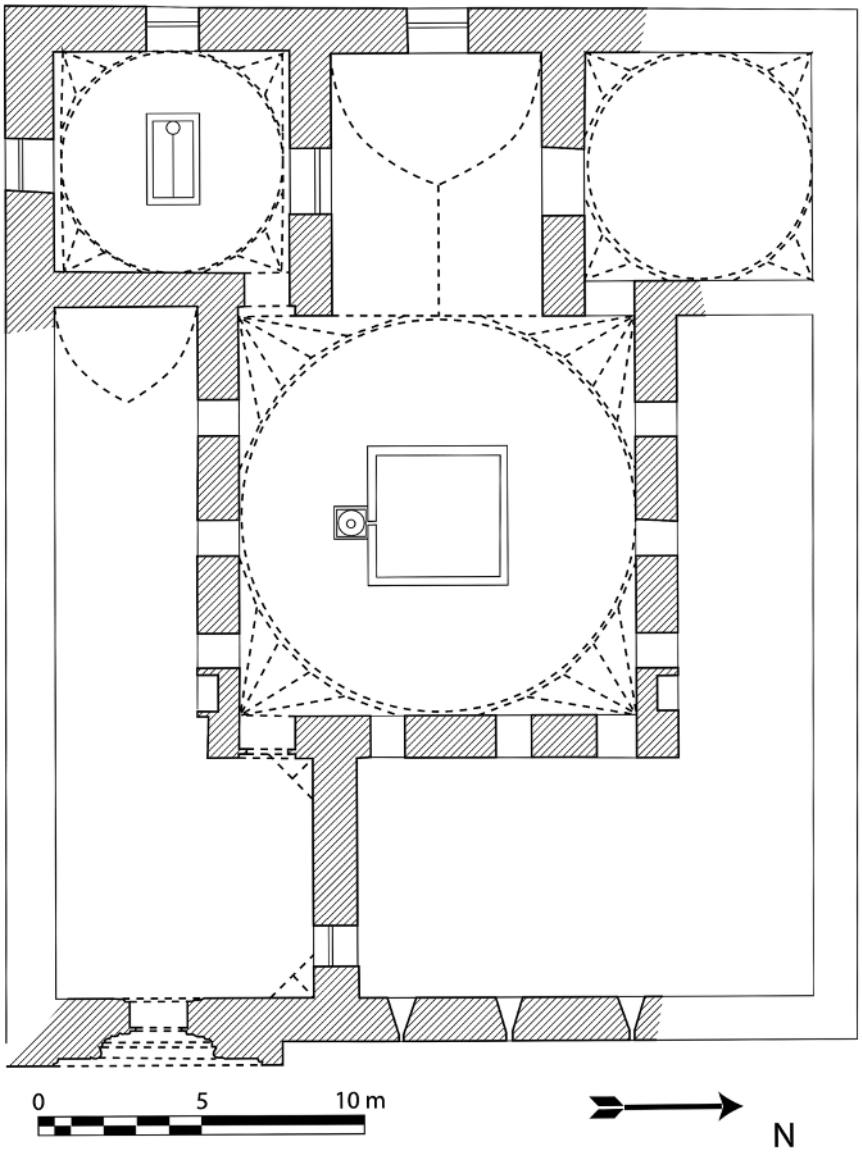
doorframe below the interlace panel, which in both monuments is surrounded by a strip of small pointed panels inscribed with phrases in Arabic.[97] On both portals, a lintel in bi-colored stonework marks the transition between the actual doorframe and the ornamental one with the small panels.

However, that is the extent of the similarities between the two monuments; their respective *ablaq* work is different in terms of its details. It thus seems likely that the Karatay Medrese's portal was built at the same time as the rest of the monument, deliberately evoking decoration associated with the 1220s by making reference to the Alaeddin Mosque and its patron, 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād. This process foreshadows the self-referential and nuanced relationships between monuments created through intricate local references that would be used in Sivas in the 1270s (discussed in Chapter 2) and in Erzurum around 1300 (see Chapter 3). Even though at first glance the connection between the two portals is immediately apparent, many details distinguish them from one another. In the Karatay Medrese, there are three half-globes carved in filigree and decorated with floral motifs in the middle of the central knot at the apex of the arch, in the spandrels formed by the arch, and on the straight black lines leading away from it. On the Alaeddin Mosque, in the zone between the bi-colored stonework and the doorframe, the foundation inscription and a carved pattern of star-interlace appear. On the Karatay Medrese, this same space is filled with five rows of *muqarnas* that end in a straight line, rather than in the more common point of a triangle, possibly to accommodate the *muqarnas* cells in the shallow four-centered arch below the interlace. The foundation inscription forms the cornice, rather than being placed directly above the doorway, where it might have interrupted the visual effect of the portal as a whole; it thus seems that the inscription was consciously placed at the top out of aesthetic concern, and that the portal is contemporary with the mosque. Technical evidence from an architectural survey conducted in the 1960s did not find any structural indications that the inscription was added later, thus supporting this interpretation.[98]

The differences between the respective portals of the Alaeddin Mosque and the Karatay Medrese do not end here. In the mosque, the engaged colonnettes placed on either side of the doorframe are marked with a zigzag pattern, while in the corresponding position on the madrasa a spiral motif appears beneath carefully carved replicas of classical acanthus leaf capitals. Despite their decorative function, the colonnettes on the mosque support—visually rather than structurally—the Qur'anic inscription that runs between the outer geometric frame and the base of the section of the *ablaq* interlace. Between the colonnettes, inscription, and outer frame, panels of chevron pattern tie the composition together.

[97] The text in the small panels consists of shorthand references to *ḥadīth*. Usually two panels together form a key passage that refers to a longer quote: Mehmet Eminoğlu, *Karatay Medresesi yazı incileri*, Konya: self-published, 1999: 10–41; Crane "Materials:" 102–4. For a full assessment of the inscription program, see: Scott Redford, "Intercession and Succession, Enlightenment and Reflection: The Inscriptional Program of the Karatay Madrasa, Konya," in: Antony Eastmond (ed.) *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, in press. I thank Professor Redford for sharing the manuscript of this article with me.

[98] Mahmut Akok, "Konya'da Karatay Medresesi rölöve ve mimarisi," *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* XVIII.2 (1969): 5–28.



1.9 Karatay Medrese, Konya, plan, redrawn after Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2, Abb. 40 and Sözen, *Anadolu Medreseleri*, vol. 2, Fig. 12. Drawing by Deniz Coşkun

Since the connection between the Karatay Medrese's portal and interior has not survived, one now enters it through a small door in a corner of the covered courtyard, which is surrounded by rectangular chambers and opens towards a large *īwān* on the western side of the building (Figure 1.9). In other words, the entrance to the large central space of the madrasa, covered with a dome richly decorated with tile mosaics, is no longer on the monument's axis, leaving the viewer unprepared for the rich interior decoration: the dome is covered in turquoise and black tiles, with black flower-like medallions emanating from a geometric interlace pattern. Elaborate kufic inscriptions in tile run along the base of the dome and around the

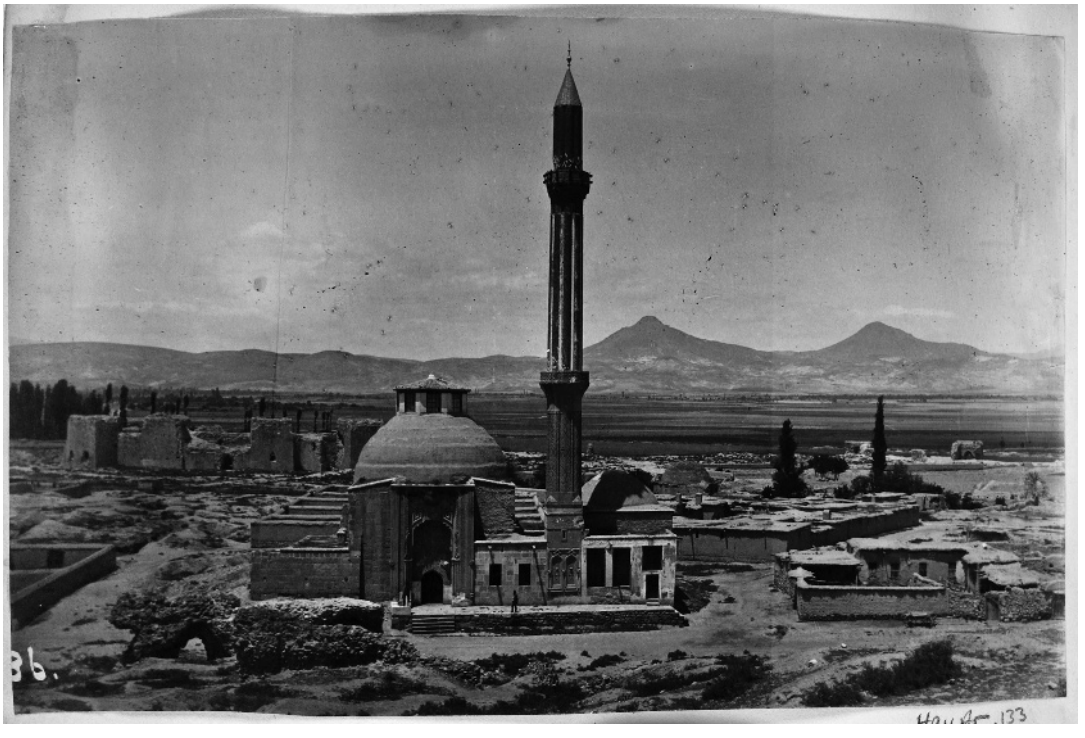
oculus at its center. The Turkish triangles below the base of the dome are covered with square black kufic script on a turquoise background and framed with bands of dark-blue leaves on a white background. A dark-blue cursive inscription on a background of turquoise scroll frames borders the arch of the *īwān*. A kufic inscription framed by bands of vegetal patterns, all in black on a turquoise background, runs around the square of the courtyard, touching the tips of the triangles. Panels above the windows and openings between the courtyard and side chambers are decorated in the same manner.

The wall decoration, to the extent that it has been preserved, consists of hexagonal turquoise tiles with gilded inscriptions. It is likely that the entire interior was covered with these same tiles, even though the parts of the walls where the tile decoration has not been preserved are now whitewashed. This decoration, in its visual richness, makes the small space of the courtyard, which measures 12m × 12m, appear much larger than it actually is. The same visual device is employed in several contemporary buildings in Konya, among them the nearby İnce Minareli Medrese, though the tile decoration in these other structures is never quite as extensive. Adding to the striking effect of the central domed space is the fact that the side chambers are not decorated at all. This may be the result of an accident in preservation, yet the founder's simple cenotaph in particular stands in stark contrast to the richly tiled cenotaphs in the Sahib Ata Complex. An anecdote referring to the piety of the founder of the Karatay Medrese may indicate the patron's purpose in establishing the foundation, though his investments in the building as a whole sharply diverge from some of the topoi it mentions:

> Once the caravanserai he commissioned in the region of Zamandū on the way to Elbistan was completed, [Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy] set out from Kayseri to see it. Approaching the site, he regretted his decision and turned around. He thought that seeing this large building would incite his vanity, a vanity that would overshadow his good works. Even though he had commissioned the complete construction of this magnificent building (which has no equal in this world), [Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy] did not see it. When they brought him the account and expenditure records of the building, he saw that much of the money had disappeared before being spent [on the construction], and he burned all the papers. He did not want the clerks, workmen, overseers, and pay masters to get into trouble and be revealed as being indebted because of these arrears.[99]

This passage may say more about the later reception of the patron's work and patronage than about his actual motivation, and it reflects the use of topoi concerning the piety of charity in the written sources of the time. The fact that this anecdote appears in a mid-fourteenth century source shows the extent to which Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy was still recognized as a respected statesman even almost a century after his death. His extensive patronage would only find its equal a few decades later, when Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī, by then one of the most powerful statesmen in Mongol Anatolia, sponsored several monuments in Konya and in other cities.

[99] My translation after: al-Aqsarāyī, *Müsâmeret ül-akhbar,* ed. Turan: 37; al-Aqsarāyī, *Müsâmeretü'l-ahbâr,* tr. Öztürk: 28.



1.10 İnce Minareli Medrese, Konya, around 1885, before the collapse of the minaret, John Henry Haynes Archive, HayAr.133/olvwork 484365, courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University

İNCE MİNARELİ MEDRESE

Known as a prolific patron, Ṣāḥib ʿAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī commissioned several monuments in Konya, very likely including the so-called İnce Minareli Medrese, which is now devoid of the tall, slim minaret to which it owes its popular designation. When the minaret collapsed in 1901 after being struck by lightning, it fell on top of the small mosque that was integrated into the complex, destroying the dome that is still visible in John Henry Haynes's photograph from the 1880s (Figure 1.10).

This section was subsequently restored several times, most recently with a rather unsightly combination of concrete and glass. Today the monument no longer has any historical inscriptions; as a result, its date is unknown but, as discussed below, it is generally placed around 1265, based on the *waqfiya*.[100]

Indeed, the attribution to Ṣāḥib ʿAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī and the date both rely on this *waqfiya*, which is identified as belonging to the madrasa. The original document has not been preserved, only a copy from 1899, hastily handwritten in rather careless Arabic, with words omitted in several places, presumably where the copyist was unable to read certain passages.[101] In an article about Ṣāḥib ʿAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī's endowment documents, Sadi Bayram and Ahmet Karabacak reproduced an older document, based on photographs taken of a document brought to the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü in Ankara, in the hopes of resolving a dispute concerning a foundation

[100] Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: 313–20. Sözen, *Anadolu Medreseleri*, vol. 2: 69–74.
[101] VGM 592–101–91; Konyalı, *Abideleri ve kitabeleri ile Konya tarihi:* 812–17.

1.11 İnce Minareli Medrese, Konya, portal, author's photograph

in Ilgin, near Kayseri.[102] The subsequent fate of the original is not known; it is not in the collections of the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, and the only other images of it are preserved in İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı's archives.[103] Since the original document is not mentioned in Konyalı's study of the monuments of Konya (in which he provides a partial reading of the nineteenth-century copy), he may have acquired the images after the book's first publication in 1965.[104] In these photographs, the original document appears to be in poor condition, in particular the first part containing relevant information about the monument; a complete reading is impossible based on the currently available reproductions. The nineteenth-century copy describes the monument's function as *dār al-hadīth* ("house of the traditions of the Prophet," a designation commonly used for madrasas, as also seen in the endowment deed of the Gök Medrese in Sivas), refers to a *masjid* within the complex (the small mosque that has been destroyed), and specifically—if somewhat unusually—mentions the minaret.[105]

Moreover, two medallions high up on the madrasa's portal include the signature of one Kālūk b. 'Abdallāh, identifying him as the architect or supervisor behind the monument's construction. This figure, several variants of whose name have been found (if we want to assume that these indeed refer to one person, see Chapter 2), is closely associated with the patronage of Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī. Several of this patron's foundations also carry Kālūk b. 'Abdallāh's signature, including the Gök Medrese in Sivas and the portal of the Sahib Ata Complex in Konya.[106] Consequently, though the attribution is not entirely certain, it is possible, relatively reliably, to identify Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī as the patron of the İnce Minareli Medrese. Based on the *waqfiya*, the monument can be dated to around 664/ 1265; if the dates on the copy of the document are reliable, the first endowment was made in 664/ 1265, with additions made in 666/ 1267 and 679/ 1280.[107]

The İnce Minareli Medrese's unique portal (Figure 1.11) powerfully draws the viewer's attention towards the entrance. An inscription band composed of Qur'anic text frames the doorway and is knotted at the center just above the door, in place of the more common *muqarnas* hood. This emphasis on Qur'anic text may serve the specific purpose of displaying the religious function of the monument, while also highlighting the beauty of the calligraphy and the obvious skill of the stone carvers who produced the inscription. The knot (Figure 1.12) is placed in a receding conch, making the inscription band appear even more dynamic as it crosses over the edge of the recess to continue vertically towards the top of the portal bloc.

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[102] Bayram and Karabacak: 32.

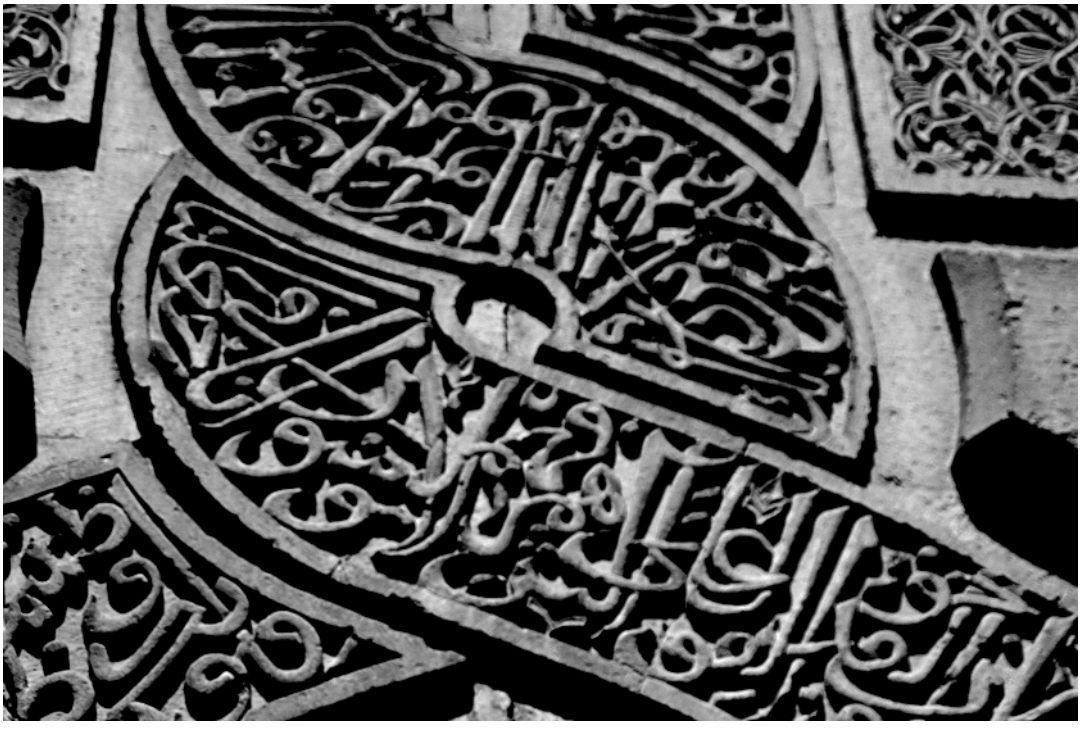
[103] Now in the İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı Library, located in the Büyük Selimiye Camii in Üsküdar, Istanbul.

[104] Konyalı, *Abideleri ve kitabeleri ile Konya tarihi.*

[105] VGM 592–101–91, l. 31; Konyalı, *Abideleri ve kitabeleri ile Konya tarihi:* 813; Bayram and Karabacak: 38.

[106] Barbara Brend, "The patronage of Faḫr al-Din 'Ali ibn al-Husain and the work of Kaluk ibn 'Abd Allah in the development of the decoration of portals in thirteenth century Anatolia," *Kunst des Orients* XI/2 (1975): 162–5; Orhan Cezmi Tuncer, "Mimar Kölük ve Kalûyân," *Vakıflar Dergisi* XIX (1985): 110–11.

[107] Bayram and Karabacak: 38–40.

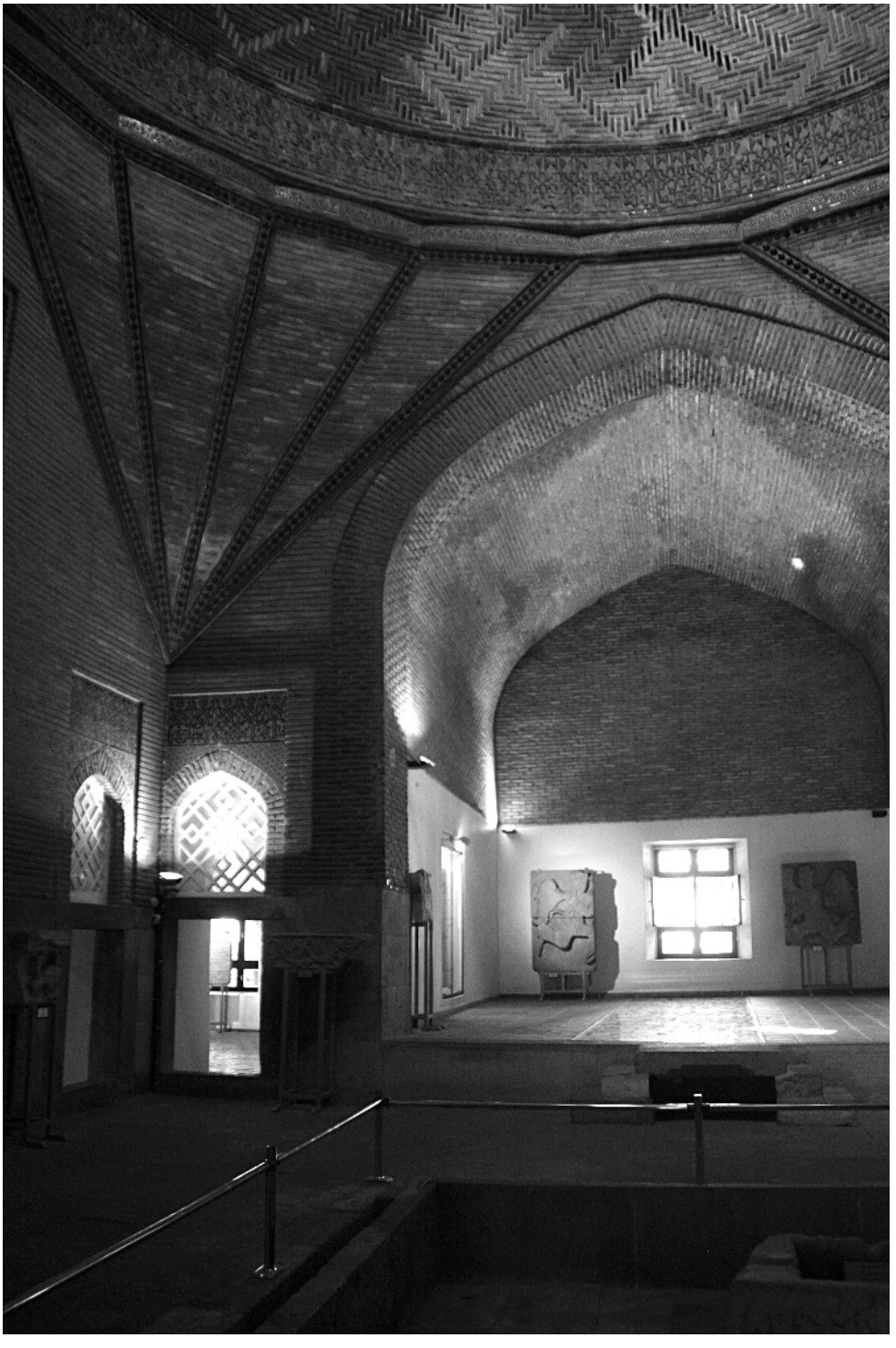


1.12 İnce Minareli Medrese, Konya, detail of portal, author's photograph

Within the conch, on either side of the inscription band, large plant motifs grow out of crescent moons atop crenellated squinches. Fields filled with palmettes surround these central motifs. At a slanted angle just outside the conch, engaged colonnettes covered with vegetal motifs are placed on both sides of the doorway recess, and a band decorated with wine-leaf motifs runs towards the cornice above them. Another pair of colonnettes, decorated with scales, is placed next to the first pair, beneath thick moldings that cross each other before connecting to a large palmette motif. Larger than the inscription band, a frame decorated with interlacing scrolls ending in palmettes closes off the portal on both sides. The rest of the façade has been so heavily restored in recent years that it cannot be taken into account here.[108]

As carefully designed to guiding the viewer into the monument as this façade is, it does not reveal the plan that is concealed behind it. The courtyard of the İnce Minareli Medrese is covered with a wide brick dome, like that of the Karatay Medrese, and the interior structure consists of one large *īwān* facing the entrance and rectangular and square side chambers, some of which are no longer extant. The façade provides a visually impressive screen that conceals this interior space (Figure 1.13), which is not as extensively decorated as that of the Karatay Medrese (Plate 2).

[108] Sözen, *Anadolu Medreseleri*, vol. 2: Fig. 12 shows the parts of the façade that were rebuilt.



1.13 İnce Minareli Medrese, Konya, interior, author's photograph

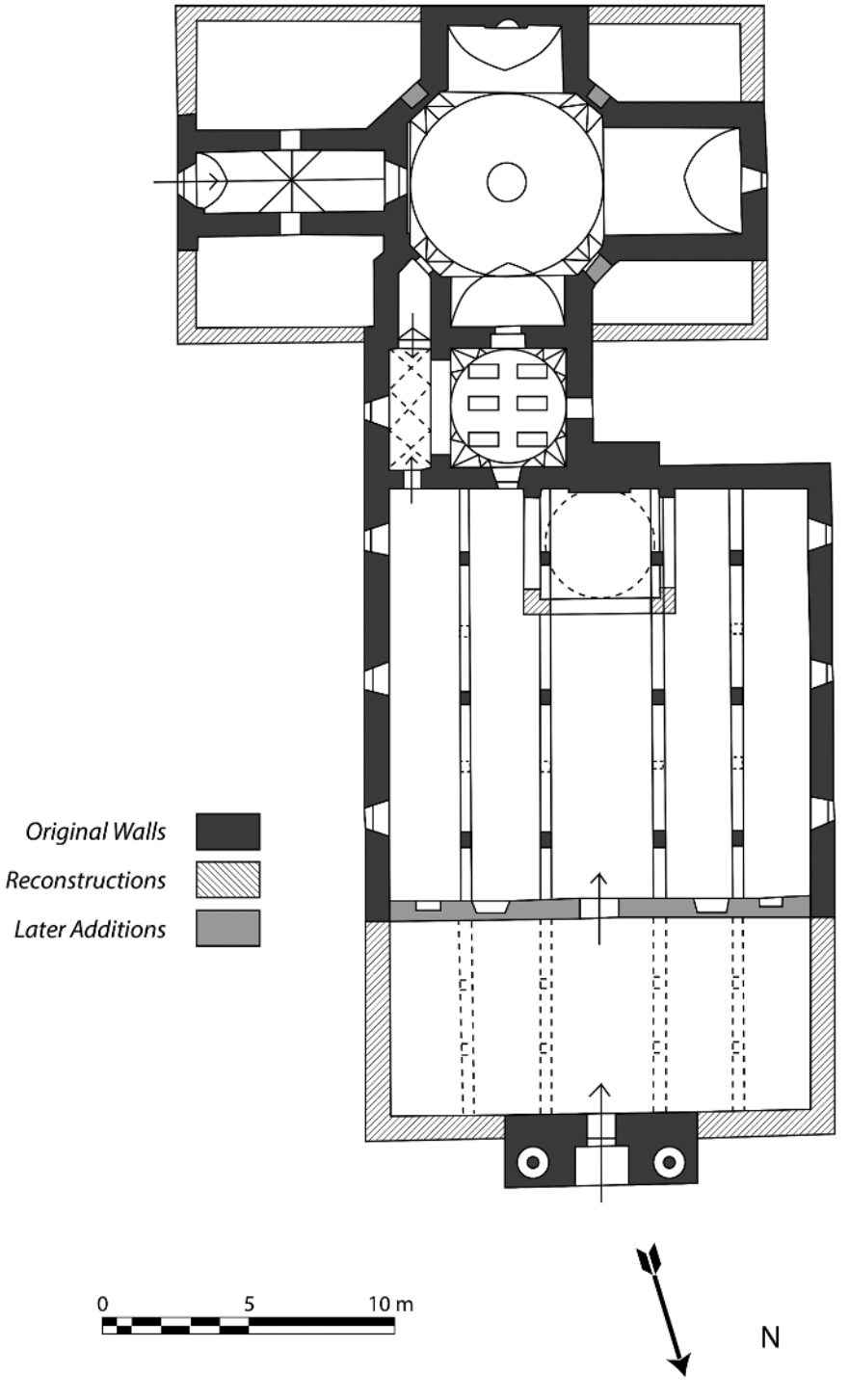
The interior of the İnce Minareli Medrese's dome is decorated with geometric patterns in turquoise and black tile alternating with bare brick, an inscription band in black tile kufic script on a brick background, and a hint of turquoise decoration around the base of the dome. The Turkish triangles that form the transition from the square plan of the courtyard to the dome are delineated with narrow bands in turquoise and black glazed tile alternating with unglazed brick to create a pattern. The structure of the façade in no way reveals the space behind it, especially not to a viewer standing close to the entrance and marveling at the stone carving from a vantage point that masks the presence of the dome.

Consequently, the interior aspect of the monument, rather than being revealed by the structure of the façade, was reserved for those who had access to it. Moreover, while the representative façade provided some sense of uniformity, it did not necessarily determine the interior layout, which could be developed according to functional needs. What is intriguing, however, is that this sort of uniform façade did not always appear on building complexes containing several monuments with different functions. In an analysis of the Sahib Ata Complex we will see some of the mechanisms that were at play in these cases. Thus, different types of portals could be placed, screen-like, in front of interior spaces of various plans and elevations, so that, seen from the outside, the relationship between a monument's form and function were not necessarily immediately apparent. This is true for multi-functional complexes, where entrances could give access to specific sections or to the monument as a whole.

Burial complexes for administrators and Sufi masters

In several cities in Anatolia, multifunctional complexes were built, often containing the founder's mausoleum along with other elements such as mosques, hospitals, and madrasas. Examples of this type include the Huand Hatun Complex in Kayseri, built around 1238 by Mahperī Khātūn, one of the wives of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād, and the mother of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II (during whose rule the structure was built).[109] The extensive complex consists of a mosque and madrasa, with the founder's mausoleum placed in between, and a bathhouse with separate sections for men and women. Other, smaller complexes comprising a hospital, madrasa, and mausoleum include the Çifte Medrese in Kayseri (602/ 1205) and the Şifaiye Medrese in Sivas (614/ 1216–17), though in the latter case only the madrasa and mausoleum have been preserved. Early examples like these were precedents for later, larger complexes, which often assumed a vast range of functions. In Konya, the most significant instances are the well-preserved Sahib Ata Complex and the mausoleum complex of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, of which only a small section dates to the thirteenth century.

[109] Eastmond, "Gender and Patronage between Christianity and Islam in the Thirteenth Century:" 78–88; Haluk Karamağaralı, "Kayseri'deki Hunat Camisinin Restitüsyonu ve Hunat Manzumesinin Kronolojisi Hakkında Bazı Mülahazalar," *Ankara Universitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 21 (1976): 199–245; Mahmut Akok, "Kayseri'de Hunad Mimari Külliyesinin Rölövesi," *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* XVI/ 1 (1967): 11; Mehmet Çayırdağ, "Huand Hatun Külliyesi," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988–2011, vol. 18: 261–2; Albert Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, two vols., Paris: E. de Boccard, 1931, vol. 1: 44.



1.14 Sahib Ata Complex, Konya, plan, redrawn after Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen,* vol. 2, Abb. 47. Drawing by Deniz Coşkun

SAHIB ATA COMPLEX

The Sahib Ata Complex (Figure 1.14) consists of a series of buildings that were constructed over time, in close proximity to each other near the Larende Gate on the road to Karaman. Construction began with the mosque in 656/ 1258, and it is unclear whether the complex's large scale and multifunctional uses were planned from the beginning.[110]

Due to a fire in the nineteenth century, only the *miḥrāb* and parts of the portal of the mosque are preserved. This portal, initially crowned with a pair of minarets (only one of which survives) was mostly built of brick, with a few elements in marble (Figure 1.15).

Most notable are the two late antique sarcophagi (see Figure 1.5) that form the base of the portal, and its interlaced marble carvings, which foreshadow the Gök Medrese, Ṣāḥib ʻAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī's foundation in Sivas. We will see in Chapter 2 to what extent these are, in fact, connected to this patron's monuments and taste, even though they weren't used in all of his foundations. Above a *muqarnas* hood, also carved in stone, the foundation inscription presents the founder:

> The construction of this blessed mosque was ordered during the days of the rule of the sultan, the shadow of God on earth, the ruler of the necks of the people, the lord of the sultans of the Arabs and Persians, ʻIzz al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn Abū 'l-Fatḥ Kaykāwūs b. Kaykhusraw—may God extend his rule—by the weak servant who needs the grace of God, ʻAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥājj Abī Bakr, may God forgive him and his parents, in the year 656 (1258).[111]

This inscription, the earliest dated example of the name Ṣāḥib ʻAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī, mentions the founder without any titles—just his personal name and those of his father and grandfather. The ruler mentioned here, ʻIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs II, had just returned from his exile at the Byzantine court of Nicaea (İznik) and had usurped—albeit fleetingly—the throne that his brother, Rukn al-Dīn Qilij Arslān IV, had held since 652/ 1254, when the joint rule of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II's three sons had dissolved. Though the inscription on the Sahib Ata Mosque does not mention Ṣāḥib ʻAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī's political role, it makes clear whose side he was on at the time. By that point, he was in charge of negotiating with the Mongols as the main vizier of Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs II, while Muʻīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* occupied the same role for Rukn al-Dīn Qilij Arslān IV.[112] Muʻīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* subsequently sent his rival a message, offering him the position of grand vizier if he was willing to support Rukn al-Dīn Qilij Arslān IV. Ṣāḥib ʻAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī accepted, and ʻIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs II was forced to flee to Constantinople in 659/ 1261–62, after Rukn al-Dīn Qilij Arslān IV's return

[110] *RCEA,* no. 4429.

[111] Amara bi-ʻimāra hādhā 'l-masjid 'l-mubārak fī ayyām 'l-dawla 'l-sulṭān ẓill allāh fī 'l-ʻālam mālik riqāb 'l-umam sayyid salāṭīn 'l-ʻarab wa 'l-ʻajam ʻIzz al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Abū (sic) 'l-Fatḥ Kaykāwūs ibn Kaykhusraw khallada 'llāh sulṭānahu 'l-ʻabd 'l-ḍaʻīf muḥtāj ilā raḥma 'llāh ʻAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥājj Abī Bakr ghafara 'llāh lahu wa li-wālidayhi, sana sitta wa khamsīn wa sittamā'ia," *RCEA*, no. 4429.

[112] Cahen, *Formation of Turkey:* 190–91.

1.15 Sahib Ata Complex, Konya, portal, author's photograph

to Konya.[113] Ṣāḥib ʻAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī remained in place, rather than going into exile with the ruler to whom he had pledged allegiance just a few years earlier. During these years, Muʻīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* rose to great power, becoming the regent for sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw III (r. 662–82/ 1264–83)—who was just a six-year-old boy at the time—after Rukn al-Dīn Qilij Arslān IV was murdered.[114] With the approval of the Mongol overlords, Ṣāḥib ʻAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī remained in place as the highest vizier, though Muʻīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* was clearly the most powerful man in Seljuk Anatolia until his execution in 675/ 1277.[115] This rise in power is clearly reflected in the ever more prominent sites and monuments that Ṣāḥib ʻAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī commissioned throughout his career.

Not all of Ṣāḥib ʻAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī's inscriptions are as humble as the example from his mosque. In 670/ 1271–72, in direct rivalry with the Ilkhanid vizier Shams al-Dīn Juwaynī, he styled himself with titles appropriate for a ruler in Sivas (see Chapter 2). In Konya, however, the titles are more muted, even as late as 678/ 1279, when the inscription on Ṣāḥib ʻAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī's *khānqāh* describes him—just as in the earlier mosque—as "the weak slave desiring the benevolent God's grace, ʻAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥājj Abū Bakr."[116] This may suggest

[113] Cahen, *Formation of Turkey:* 191; For a detailed study of ʻIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs II's exile in Constantinople, see: Rustam Shukorov, "Sultan ʻIzz al-Din Kaykavus v Vyzantii (1262–1264/1265 gg.)," *Vyzantijskij Vremennik (Byzantina Xronika)* 71, no. 96 (2012): 7–26.

[114] Cahen, *Formation of Turkey*: 195.

[115] Cahen, *Formation of Turkey*: 193.

[116] *RCEA*, no. 4779.

1.16 Sahib Ata Complex, Konya, portal of *khānqāh*, author's photograph

that a certain degree of restraint was necessary in Konya, the former center of the Seljuk sultanate, where many of the old notables were still in residence.

At the south side of the mosque, further from the citadel but on the axis of the portal, a mausoleum was added for the Sahib Ata Complex's founder and his family. The first dated inscription, on a cenotaph, marks the death of one of the founder's daughters in 671/ 1273.[117] It is unclear whether the mausoleum was added only then, or earlier.[118] What is clear, however, is the direct structural connection between the mosque, the mausoleum, and a *khānqāh* that was added in 678/ 1279, with its own foundation inscription over the portal.[119] The presence of the *khānqāh*, clearly intended for use by Sufis, emphasizes the wide range of buildings that a single patron could commission. Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī was not only responsible for the construction of this structure, but also of the adjoining mosque and mausoleum and a bathhouse (added to this closely connected complex of buildings at an unspecified date, across from the entrance to the *khānqāh*), as well as a madrasa and smaller mosque.

[117] *RCEA*, no. 4664. *Thésaurus d'épigraphie islamique*, no. 32856 suggests that the date given in RCEA, no. 4664 is wrong, instead suggesting the date 691/ 1291–92: http://www.epigraphie-islamique.org, accessed 27 May 2014.

[118] On the structural aspects of the complex: Halûk Karamağaralı,"Sâhib Atâ Câmii'nin restitüsyonu hakkında bir deneme," *Rölöve ve Restorasyon Dergisi* 3 (1982): 49–75; Mahmut Akok, "Konya'da Sahib-ata Hanikâh, Camiinin rölöve ve mimarisi," *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* XIX.2 (1970): 5–38.

[119] *RCEA,* no. 4779; Yılmaz Önge, "Konya Sahib Ata Hankâhı," *Suut Kemal Yetkin'e Armağan*, Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 1984: 281–92.

1.17 Sahib Ata Complex, Konya, interior of mausoleum, detail of tile decoration, author's photograph

The portal of the *khānqāh* (Figure 1.16) stands at a 90-degree angle to that of the mosque, and the two buildings do not seem to be connected at first glance. A look at the plan, however, reveals that the mausoleum serves as a connection between the two other structures: from the center of the *khānqāh,* a corridor leads to the mausoleum. The main feature of the complex is its emphasis on this small mausoleum, toward which the entire foundation is directed, and on the richly decorated cenotaphs (Plate 3).

The decoration in the tomb chamber (Figure 1.17), with its numerous inscriptions and multi-colored tile panels, enhances the importance of this small space. Though the section containing the burial places of the founder and his relatives is much smaller than the domed courtyard of the adjacent *khānqāh*, it is decorated much more extensively, with tiles on all of its walls and on the cenotaphs.

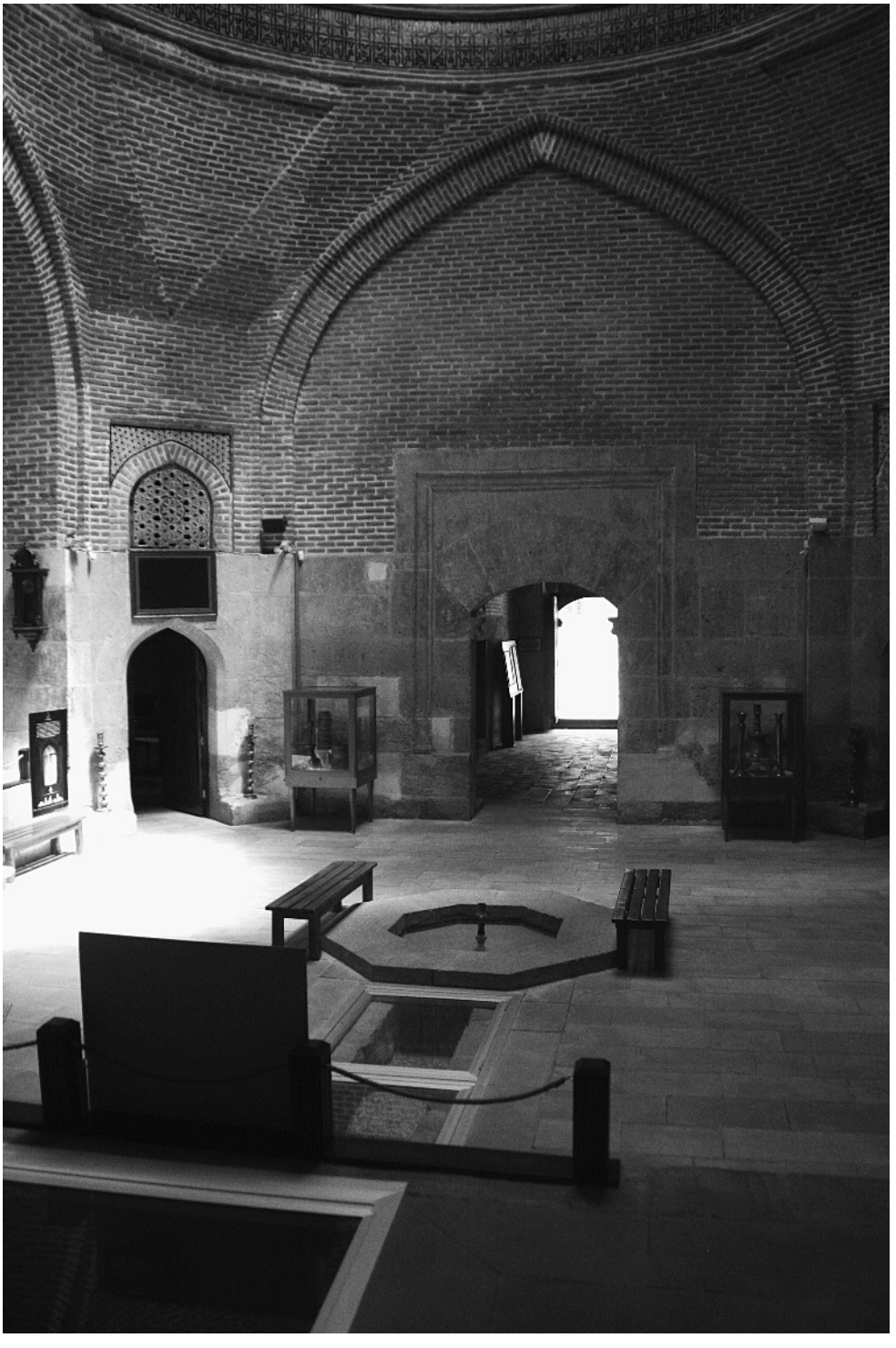
A small window allows a view of, if not access to, the prayer hall of the mosque. The mausoleum's location behind the *qibla* wall of the mosque thus ensured that the congregation's prayers would be heard there and that it might act as a conduit for intercession for the dead. Indeed, the inscription on the *khānqāh* clearly welcomes those who wish to spend their days in prayer, perhaps in the hope that some of the blessings invoked by the pious residents would fall on the founder's deceased relatives.

The addition of the *khānqāh* to a family tomb centered on burial thus seems to have been both a spiritual and political move on the part of Ṣāḥib ʻAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī, particularly in light of Muʻīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne*'s roughly contemporary patronage of the circles of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. In their rivalry, both patrons ensured that they sponsored different aspects of religious life (though, based on existing information, most of Muʻīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne*'s foundations were outside of Konya). Of the inscriptions that mention Muʻīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne*, one was destroyed in a fire in the early twentieth century, and at least one other may be a later copy, leaving little epigraphic evidence of this statesman's patronage, as will be discussed below. Consequently, if Ṣāḥib ʻAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī's patronage appears much more extensive than his rival's this is due largely to gaps in the evidence.

The courtyard (Figure 1.18) of the *khānqāh*, similar in size and plan to that of the İnce Minareli Medrese, except for the presence of four *īwān*s, is also covered with the same type of dome, yet displays very little tile decoration.

The courtyard thus remains a preparatory space, announcing the tomb chamber without revealing the decorative splendor in its interior. Repeating the simplicity of the covered courtyard, the entrance of the *khānqāh* has the same bands of geometric patterns that frame the main portal bloc. A pointed arch with engaged corner colonnettes forms the recess for the doorway. The foundation inscription is carved onto the trilobite panel above the doorway's segmental arch. Though the portal of this building is less elaborately decorated than its interior, it serves to draw the visitor towards the central space. There, the decoration is applied hierarchically, with the founder's mausoleum—the monument's main attraction—receiving the largest share of the tile work. The founder's cenotaph, covered with tiles and inscriptions, evokes his memory with the respectful reference "the great statesman."[120]

[120] "al-ṣāḥib 'l-muʻaẓẓam," *RCEA,* no. 4863.



1.18 Sahib Ata Complex, Konya, courtyard of *khānqāh*, author's photograph

In the *khānqāh* of the Sahib Ata Complex, just as in the Buruciye Medrese in Sivas (discussed in Chapter 2), the founder's mausoleum is the most prominently decorated section.[121] The expansive tile decoration, even in its current, heavily restored state, clearly marks the focus of the monument and forms the culmination of a trajectory that leads from the simple entrance portal to the sparsely decorated *khānqāh* and finally to the tomb chamber. A number of the cenotaphs bear inscriptions naming the persons buried in the crypt below them. Thus, though the monument's exterior is relatively plain and displays little text, the interior reveals itself to be a colorful monument to the founder's memory. While the mausoleum may not have been accessible to everyone, it certainly would have made an impression on those able to visit it. Moreover, the connection between the mosque and the mausoleum, a small window inserted into the *qibla* wall, made the founder's tomb even more present to those praying in the mosque, and ensured that prayers spoken for the founder's soul reached God. Similarly, the presence of Sufis in the *khānqāh* further supported the memory of the patron and his family through prayer.

The central location of its place of burial, along with the historical presence of Sufis and a community of worshippers, gives the Sahib Ata Complex a shrine-like quality. In this sense, it may have been intended to mirror the burial complex built for Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, located in another section of the city, but also outside 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād's walls and along an axis leading away from the citadel. The location of the complex indicates a shift away from the main focus of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād's capital, centered on the citadel. Located along the road to Larende (Karaman), Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī's mosque complex provided a central institution in a part of the city that had not previously been given priority. While Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy's foundation, along with Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī's other prominent foundation, the İnce Minareli Medrese, were built at the foot of the citadel hill, close to the old center of Seljuk rule, the Sahib Ata Complex emphasized a sense of expansion and independence by extending patronage to sections of the city that were not central under Seljuk rule. While practical concerns such as the availability of land to build a large, multi-functional complex may have played a part in the monument's placement, it is nevertheless interesting to compare the latter with that of the Gök Medrese, Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī's foundation in Sivas. The Gök Medrese (discussed in Chapter 2), too, was built at a greater distance from the city center with its citadel and inner stretch of wall, leading me to suggest that the founder's intention was to distribute resources to otherwise underserved areas of the city through his patronage.

In Konya, two other complexes were also located outside the perimeter of the inner walls—Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunawī's mosque and mausoleum (now largely replaced by a later structure) and Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's complex, also the product of several centuries of transformation and additions. The construction and expansion of these complexes, together with the Sahib Ata Complex, profoundly changed the topography of Konya in the second half of the thirteenth century. The citadel

[121] Patricia Blessing, "Allegiance, Praise, and Space: Monumental Inscriptions in thirteenth-century Anatolia as Architectural Guides," in: Mohammad Gharipour and İrvin Cemil Schick (eds) *Calligraphy and Architecture in the Muslim World*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013: 431–46.

mound, the central site of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād's patronage, was still at the heart of the city, surrounded by important foundations that continued to function. At the same time, however, the large, multi-functional complexes that included, but were not limited to, facilities for various Sufi groups, provided focal points for other, previously less privileged parts of the city. Whereas, in the early thirteenth century, one cosmic ruler had created his vision of a paradisiacal city, now several patrons were establishing points of reference for themselves, their families, and the Sufis they supported.

THE MEVLANA MAUSOLEUM AND MU'ĪN AL-DĪN SULAYMĀN PERVĀNE'S PATRONAGE

Only a few of the foundations of Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* have survived, though we can assume that, like his rival Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī, he was a prolific patron of monuments in certain parts of Anatolia. In Konya, written sources—most importantly Aflākī's hagiography of the Mawlawīs, dating to the 1340s—confirm the involvement of Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* and his wife Gurjī Khātūn in the construction of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's mausoleum, even though no inscriptions to this effect have been preserved on the monument, which has been repeatedly restored and enlarged over the centuries. Since not many of Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne*'s monuments have been preserved, possibly due to their deliberate destruction after he was disgraced and executed, an assessment of his patronage must rely on fragmentary evidence. Yet even this scarce evidence suggests that he was a rather prolific patron, who endowed monuments that had various functions in different locations across central and northern Anatolia, just as Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī and his contemporary Nūr al-Dīn Jājā did.

In Kayseri, the ruins of a madrasa that, according to Aflākī, was founded by Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne*, probably sometime between the death of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī in 672/ 1273 and his own execution in 675/ 1277, have been partially excavated.[122] The structure, probably a four-*īwān* madrasa with an open courtyard, closely resembles several earlier madrasas in Kayseri, most importantly the Sahibiye Medrese, which Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī commissioned in 666/ 1268.[123] Thus, in Kayseri just as in Konya, the patronage of the two rivals is in direct competition and dialogue, marking specific points in the city, even though, stylistically, both monuments use the vocabulary of the local architecture, with heavy stone vaults and minimal decoration centered on the portal, just as in the earlier Huand Hatun Complex.

While the political competition between Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* and Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī is certainly reflected at the architectural level, these two patrons did not necessarily always build in the same areas or cities, making a direct comparison of their foundations more difficult, as does the persistent local character of architecture in several of these cities. Thus, as Chapter 2 will show, Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī's foundation in Sivas, the Gök Medrese, above all rivals that of the Ilkhanid notable Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Juwaynī, the Çifte Minareli Medrese, while the architecture of the Buruciye Medrese, built in Sivas in the

[122] Mehmet Çayırdağ, "Kayseri'de Pervane Bey Medresesi," *Vakıflar Dergisi* XXVI (1997): 225–36.

[123] *RCEA,* no. 4595; Orhan Cezmi Tuncer, *Kayseri Sahip Ata Medresesi*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanliği, 1988.

same year as the other two monuments (670/ 1271–72), is more modest. All three monuments include stylistic elements that are largely limited to the region of Sivas, even though the Gök Medrese also contains elements related to the portal of the mosque complex in Konya, which was also founded by Ṣāḥib ʻAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī.

Muʻīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne*'s primary places of patronage were Sinop on the Black Sea, as well as Merzifon and perhaps Tokat, which came under his control by the mid-1260s.[124] In Sinop, one of the few extant inscriptions in Muʻīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne*'s name is located above the door of the so-called Alaeddin Medrese, though the portal in its current form appears to be the result of a later restoration, during which the inscription may have been recarved (even though a restoration report suggests that the entire portal dates back to the thirteenth century).[125] The text of these inscriptions documents the construction of the monument, which Muʻīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* sponsored after regaining Sinop in 661/ 1262–63 from the Byzantine rulers of Trebizond (who had held this port city on the Black Sea since 657/ 1259), and specifically emphasizes his victory over the unbelievers.[126] A few years later, in 667/ 1269, Muʻīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* also commissioned the restoration of the Great Mosque of Sinop.[127] In addition to these two monuments, Muʻīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* is also known to have commissioned the Great Mosque of Merzifon, dated 663/ 1265, which was destroyed in a fire in the early twentieth century.[128] He also built the Durak Han, a caravanserai located near Vezirköprü south of Sinop, in 664/ 1266, as recorded in an inscription.[129]

While Tokat is clearly associated with Muʻīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* and his family, evidence of his patronage is much less clear. The city's Gök Medrese has been ascribed to him.[130] The grounds for this attribution are far from certain: the madrasa lacks a foundation inscription, and textual sources do not provide a clear connection.[131] The fact that Tokat was a stronghold of Muʻīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* and of his family is the only argument in favor of attributing the Gök Medrese to his patronage. As we will see in Chapter 4, one of his daughters was active as a patron in Tokat in the 1290s and recorded an inscription in her father's memory.

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[124] Nejat Kaymaz, *Pervâne Mu'înü'd-dîn Süleyman*, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1970: 111–4.

[125] Filiz Aydın, "Sinop, Alâiye (Süleyman Pervane) Medresesi," *Vakıflar Dergisi* X (1973): 251–72.

[126] Andrew C.S. Peacock, "Sinop: A Frontier City in Seljuk and Mongol Anatolia," *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 16 (2010): 105–6, 119–20; Şahin, "Pervane Muineddin Süleyman:" 547; *RCEA,* no. 4505; Sözen, *Anadolu Medreseleri*, vol. 1: 123–6; Cahen, *Formation of Turkey:* 194.

[127] *RCEA*, no. 4605; Taeschner, "Die «Große Moschee» (Ulu Cami) in Sinop:" 249–52.

[128] Sadi Bayram, "Merzifon Ulu Camisinin yeri ve Merzifon'da Türk İslam Eserleri," *Kültür ve Sanat* 5 (March, 1990): 69–77; *RCEA*, no. 4541, based on Halil Edhem (Eldem), "Merzifon'da Pervane Muîniddin Süleyman Namına Bir Kitâbe".

[129] Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray*, vol. 1: 72–4; Hakkı Acun (ed.) *Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Kervansarayları,* Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2007: 492. When Erdmann visited the caravanserai in 1954, the inscription had been inserted into a wall of a nearby mosque. During a restoration of the caravanserai in 1989–92, the inscription was returned to its original position: http://ayancuk.com/duragan.asp, accessed 28 May 2013.

[130] Originally, the monument was a double complex comprising a mosque and a hospital, with the two buildings joined along the madrasa's northern wall: İbrahim Numan and Işık Aksulu, "Tokat Gök Medrese Darü's-Sülehası'nın Restitüsyonu," in: Çiğdem Kafescioğlu and Lucienne Thys-Şenocak (eds) *Aptullah Kuran için yazılar*, Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999: 43–53.

[131] Şahin,"Pervane Muineddin Süleyman:" 549–50; Sözen, *Anadolu Medreseleri*, vol. 1: 213–4; A. Süheyl Ünver, *Selçuk Tababeti, XI-XIV üncü asırlar*, Ankara: Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1940: 79–83.

1.19 Mausoleum of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Konya, view of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's cenotaph, author's photograph

In Konya, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's mausoleum, today at the heart of a large shrine complex, is the only structure that bears traces of the patronage of Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne*'s wife, Gurjī Khātūn. The monument's building history is complex, and its current form, with a prominent, tiled dome rising above the burial chamber (Plate 4), is in large part the result of later phases of construction. The first mausoleum was probably built during the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād, after the death in 628/ 1231 of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Balkhī, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's father; nothing of this earliest structure survives.[132] The second phase of construction is documented both in Aflākī's account and in inscriptions carved on the wooden cenotaphs of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (Figure 1.19) and of several of his relatives within the mausoleum (which are now covered with textiles and hence hidden from view).[133] The carved inscriptions on Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's cenotaph record several details, including the name of one 'Abd al-Waḥīd b. Salīm, designated as the architect who planned the construction of the large wooden cenotaph (and perhaps of the mausoleum), and that of Humān al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Kunāk al-Qunawī, who carved

[132] Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: 343.

[133] Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: 341; Şahabettîn Uzluk, *Mevlânanın Türbesi*, Konya: Yeni Kitap Basımevi, 1946: 51.

the cenotaph.[134] The name of the mausoleum's patron is not mentioned (as in the case of Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunawī's mausoleum), and prominence is given instead to the deceased Sufi master, who (in the main inscription on the front and back of the cenotaph) is praised with elaborate titles that make reference to his position as a spiritual leader:

> (basmala and Qur'an verse) Blessed is he who visits this tomb; it is the resting place of our master (*mawlānā*), the sultan of scholars (*sulṭān al-ulamā'*) of East and West (*al-mashāriq wa-l-maghārib*), the most brilliant light of God in the darkness, the *imām*, son of the *imām*, son of the *imām*, the column of Islam, the guide of mankind into the presence of the glory of the brilliant and most noble, the commentator of the signs of knowledge after the destruction of their marks, the one who enlightens the sentinels of certainty after erasing their signals, the key of the treasures of the throne through his position, the one who makes the treasures of the earth appear through his speech, the one who sprinkles the orchards of creatures' thoughts by means of the flowers of certitude, the light of the eye of perfection, the soul of the essence of beauty, the eyeball of the stages (*aṭbāq*) of lovers [of God], the one who adorns the necks of those contemplating the horizons with the necklaces of affection towards the Creator, the one who encircles the secrets of religious certainty, the axis of spiritual knowledge, the pole (*quṭb*) of the worlds, the resurrector (*muḥyī*) of the souls of the wise, Jalāl al-Ḥaqq wa-l-Milla wa-l-Dīn, the inheritor of prophets and messengers (of God), the seal of the friends of God (*awliyā'*), the theologians, the man of the noble ranks, of the elevated stations, and of the superior qualities and splendors, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Balkhī, may the salutations and grace of the Beneficent be upon him, and he passed away—may God sanctify his soul and the spirit of his corpse—on 5 Jumādha 'l-ākhar 672 (17 December 1273). This tomb is the work of 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Salīm, the architect, may God indulge him.[135]

In this inscription, the deceased takes center stage and is praised for his wisdom and, above all, for his role as a spiritual leader of both those engaged in the search of the knowledge of God through the spiritual stages of Sufism (*ṭabaqāt*) and through the intellectual endeavors of scholars (*ulamā'*). The inscription is extremely elaborate, confirming Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's high status and his role in the Mawlawī community of Konya, but also beyond it, as a scholar of Islamic law and theology. Like the architecture of the period, this text blurs the boundaries between Sufis and ulema.

The central mausoleum was restored and enlarged soon after Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's death in 672/1273, but before Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne*'s execution in 675/1277. This phase of construction may have resulted in a first version of the green dome, and it certainly determined the current shape of the central burial chamber to a large extent. The dome's fluted shape may also date to this mid-thirteenth century phase of construction according to Meinecke, who compares it to a series of similar (albeit more angular) domes on the Şifaiye Medrese in Sivas and Gök Medrese Mosque in Amasya (where the dome is an undated element, probably added in the early fourteenth century).[136] However, it is impossible to determine the date of the current dome with certainty in the absence of a completed structural analysis of the monument.

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134 Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: 345.

135 *RCEA*, no. 4681; for images of the cenotaph, see: Uzluk, *Mevlânanın Türbesi:* 51, 54, 57.

136 Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: 343–4.

An addition to the central burial chamber must have been appended just a few years after the initial construction, since it contains two tile-decorated cenotaphs marked with the dates 676/ 1277 and 682/ 1283, respectively; a restoration of the burial chamber is documented in 683/ 1284.[137] Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* was dead by this point, and the patron of the addition to the mausoleum is unknown. In the late fourteenth century, under Karamanid rule, the mausoleum underwent yet another restoration and expansion, which probably did not significantly change its form, except for the addition of more side chambers to the north and west.[138] The other additions are the result of expansions made under Ottoman rule, some of them dating to the reign of Bayezid II (r. 886–918/ 1481–1512), while two domed chambers to the north were added in 973/ 1565–66.[139] The current tiles on the exterior of the mausoleum are the result of several later restorations, the most recent of which was completed in 1949. In other words, much of the complex surrounding the central mausoleum actually documents the ongoing importance of Rūmī's shrine after the thirteenth century.[140]

Conclusion

After the Mongol conquest of Anatolia, patronage in Konya experienced some major changes in the second half of the thirteenth century. The Seljuk sultans, no longer independent rulers and frequently embroiled in succession conflicts, weren't active as patrons anymore. This enabled powerful *amīr*s such as Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy to establish foundations that protected their own and their families' financial interests, while at the same time showcasing their charity through institutions like madrasas, where the distribution of food to the needy was often part of the conditions of the endowment. The Karatay Medrese, a monument of the patron Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy, is located at the foot of the citadel hill, in full view of the Alaeddin Mosque and the Seljuk palace (no longer extant), built during the apogee of Seljuk rule before 1240. This type of patronage did not end with Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy's death in 652/ 1254, but rather continued to expand until around 1280, as a new generation of statesmen emerged who knew how to use the Mongol overlords' largely in-absentia rule to their own advantage.

In the 1260s and 1270s, the two most powerful figures by far in Anatolia were Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī and Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne.* In addition to their political activity, these men were both active as patrons in several cities across Anatolia. The evidence for Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne*'s patronage is more limited: his only surviving monuments are the Alaeddin Medrese and the Great Mosque in Sinop, both built in the 1260s, along with a caravanserai in the same region. In Konya, parts of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's funerary complex are attributed to the patronage of Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* and his wife, Gurjī Khātūn, based on

137 Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: 344.
138 Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: 344.
139 Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: 345.
140 Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: 346.

textual evidence (the complex itself, considerably transformed and restored over the course of several centuries of use, does not retain any inscriptions in the name of these known supporters of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and his circle). Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* may also have commissioned monuments in Tokat, where he and his family established a stronghold in the 1260s and 1270s; once again, however, the evidence is very limited, perhaps due to *damnatio memoriae* after the *pervāne*'s execution for treason following the Mamluk invasion of Anatolia in 675/ 1277.

Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne*'s main political rival, Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī, was a particularly prolific patron whose foundations have survived in Konya, Kayseri, Sivas, and in several smaller towns in the region between these cities. In Konya, he built both the İnce Minareli Medrese, close to the citadel, and the Sahib Ata Complex, which contains his family mausoleum. The latter complex, located near the Larende Gate in the southern part of the city, may have represented a push for expansion beyond the center, which had been heavily privileged by the Seljuk sultans, and by 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād (r. 616–36/ 1220–37) in particular. In Chapter 2 we will see that Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī opted for a similar strategy in Sivas, where the Gök Medrese was built in a location removed from the inner citadel, possibly on the site of a former Seljuk palace. In this way, the patronage of the new elites here enabled a shift in urban development from the central, often fortified locations privileged by the Seljuk sultans to a series of important monuments that served as focal points for various other parts of the city. The power vacuum that followed the Mongol conquest of Anatolia provided these patrons with the resources and leverage to commission monuments in their own name.

I have argued that, more than the Seljuk sultans of the early thirteenth century whose patronage focused on fortifications, mosques, and caravanserais, these new patrons opted for a wide range of monuments. Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy, Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī, and Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* each not only sponsored monuments across a certain geographical range, but also sponsored various types, including madrasas, *khānqāh*s, mosques, and caravanserais. Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī and Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* each founded madrasas that supported scholars even as they were also connected to Sufi communities—as their patronage of mausolea and *khānqāh*s, as well as letters written to both by Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, confirm. This reflects how the religious milieu of medieval Anatolia was one of constant flux and interchange between various communities, both Muslim and Christian. Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and his followers were present in madrasas while at the same time following their own mystical pursuits. The ulema, less firmly defined as a group in Anatolia than in Egypt or Syria, were also a part of this environment of cohabitation and interaction, and occasional conflicts between Sufis and ulema did not prevent Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī from gaining the title *sulṭān al-ulamā'*. In the decades after the deaths of Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī and Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne*, fewer large foundations were sponsored by individual patrons in Konya and in other cities in Anatolia (see Chapter 4). Instead, Sufi communities, rather than appealing to patrons at a higher level, increasingly took the construction of mausolea and *zāwiya*s into their own hands.

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2

A capital of learning: Three madrasas in Sivas (1271–1272)

In one year, 670/ 1271–72, three madrasas were built in the central Anatolian city of Sivas.[1] This city had long been a center of commerce due to its location at the intersection of important trade routes from Iran to Konya and from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. The route from Ayas to Tabriz (via Sivas, Erzincan, and Erzurum), in particular, was crucial. The establishment of a Genoese trading post in Sivas and the increase of trade between Anatolia and Iran in the second half of the thirteenth century further bolstered the city's commercial role.[2] With the construction of three madrasas—the Buruciye Medrese, Çifte Minareli Medrese, and Gök Medrese—Sivas also gained in importance as a center of scholarship, though the names of the scholars who were initially appointed as teachers in these buildings are not known.[3] All at once, Sivas became a university town offering substantial opportunities for Sunni scholars and students respectively to teach and study Islamic law. In an effort to understand this specific moment in the architectural history of Anatolia, this chapter investigates the context of the construction of these madrasas, the motivations and backgrounds of their patrons, and the characteristics and style of their architecture.

The broader question of a Sunni revival in Anatolia, or rather of its purported absence, which I have already addressed in Chapter 1, is relevant here as well. The construction of three large buildings devoted to the teaching of Islamic law in an

[1] For a brief historical and geographical overview, see: "Sivas," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi: Islâm âlemi tarih, coğrafya, etnografya ve biyografya lûgati*, Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basimevi, 1950–1988, vol. 10: 571–7; Suraiya Faroqhi, "Sīwās," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/siwas-SIM_7078, accessed 20 February 2014; "Sīwās," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first edition, ed. M. Th. Houtsma et. al., reprint Leiden: Brill, 1987, vol. IV: 465–6; Osman Turan, "Selçuklular zamanında Sivas şehri," *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Çoğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* XI.4 (Aralık 1951): 447–57.

[2] Rogers, "Patronage," 267–8; A. Zeki Velidi Togan, "Economic Conditions in Anatolia in the Mongol Period," tr. Gary Leiser, *Annales islamologiques* XXV (1991): 218; Turan, "Selçuklular zamanında Sivas şehri:" 450–51.

[3] The modern names of the three madrasas in Sivas are not necessarily those they carried at the time of construction. The Buruciye Medrese is named after its patron, Muẓaffar al-Dīn al-Barūjirdī, and this may have been how it was known to the city's medieval residents. The historicity of the other two names, the Gök Medrese and Çifte Minareli Medrese, is questionable since they are both generic, the first referring to the blue tiles used on the façade, the second emphasizing the pair of minarets placed on the façade. However, for the sake of convenience, since their historical names are not known, the three buildings will be referred to by their modern names throughout.

urban center that did not previously have a concentration of such institutions demands a discussion of the larger incentives behind their foundation. At a time when influential figures of various allegiances were competing for power under the umbrella of Mongol rule, the political entanglements and personal devotion of the madrasas' three patrons were of essential importance.

The motivations of the patrons are recorded first and foremost in the foundation inscriptions and overall epigraphic program of the monuments themselves. Moreover, in the case of the Buruciye Medrese and Gök Medrese, all or parts of the deeds of endowment (*waqfiya*s) have been preserved, offering further insight into their patrons' aims. To set the stage for an analysis of these monuments, however, it is helpful to begin with a discussion of the history of Sivas in the thirteenth century. The period in which the three madrasas were built represents a pivotal moment in the history of Anatolia under Mongol rule, just before the Mamluks, entering the region from Syria in 675/ 1277, defeated the Ilkhanids in battle. The Mamluk sultan Baybars I (r. 658–76/ 1260–77) led an army into Anatolia and defeated the Mongol armies at Abūlustayn (Elbistan). He then captured Kayseri, but had to withdraw to Syria after a few months.[4] Even though the Mamluk hold over Anatolia lasted barely six months, it was a crucial stage in the long-lasting conflict between this dynasty and the Mongol Ilkhanids. Wishing to retain a strong position against the Mamluks, the Ilkhanids subsequently tightened their administrative and military hold over Anatolia. (Chapter 4 will examine the consequences of these events on the construction of monuments in Anatolia.) The three madrasas in Sivas, founded on the cusp of these changes, reflect the atmosphere of competition between Seljuk and Ilkhanid officials that had emerged in the decades before they were built.

Sivas in the thirteenth century

As a center of scholarship, Sivas probably did not become as central as Konya, which had been shaped into the Seljuk capital in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. As we have seen in Chapter 1, several madrasas were built in Konya even after the Seljuk sultans were no longer sponsoring their construction. The presence of figures such as Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunawī (d. 673/ 1274) and Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 671/ 1273) guaranteed a steady flow of students, scholars, and Sufis to Konya over the course of the second quarter of the thirteenth century, and the construction of several madrasas in the city was closely tied to this scholarly activity.

In the case of Sivas, on the other hand, the connection between scholarship and patronage is far less clear than in Konya. Yet the construction of the three madrasas in Sivas may have had an important impact at the regional level, insofar as this increase in institutions of learning must have affected the dynamics between these two urban centers considerably. While, during the first half of the thirteenth century, Konya had held pride of place with the highest number of such institutions, followed

[4] For a detailed account of the conflict, based mostly on Mamluk sources, see: Amitai, *Mongols and Mamluks*; for the impact on Anatolia specifically, see Yıldız, "Mongol Rule in thirteenth-century Seljuk Anatolia," 329–414.

closely by Kayseri, Sivas now became a center to be reckoned with when it came to educating the ulema of Anatolia. Moreover, it is significant that the madrasas in Sivas were built in 670/ 1271–72, at a time when the construction of madrasas had practically ceased in Konya and Kayseri. Clearly, compared to the secondary role it had assumed in the Seljuk realm, Sivas, located further into Anatolia and thus closer to the influence of Ilkhanid rule, rose in importance in the context of Mongol rule.

While the influence of the Ilkhanids never established itself permanently in Konya, it did take hold of the eastern parts of Anatolia, including Sivas. Faced with the Mamluk threat to their power in Iran, the Ilkhanids imposed direct control over Anatolia in order to manage the ongoing conflict with the Mamluks better: they appointed Ilkhanid governors to Anatolia, shifted the capital of the province of Rūm from Konya to Sivas, and applied direct taxation.[5] The region had become a new battleground, or at the very least a buffer zone, in the conflict between the Ilkhanid and Mamluk empires.

Yet, the surge in the construction of madrasas in Sivas occurred several years prior to these events, before it became the center of the Ilkhanid administration. Close analysis is necessary to understand the dynamics of patronage and the competition between the various personalities involved. We will see that the construction of the three madrasas took place in the midst of rising competition between the remaining Seljuk elites and the Ilkhanid administration. The three simultaneous, major construction projects in Sivas reflect the mounting tensions between those *amīr*s who remained loyal to the Seljuk sultans, even though they had been appointed with Mongol approval, and those who represented Mongol interests more directly.

There are no written sources recording the impact at urban and institutional levels of the establishment of the three madrasas in Sivas 670/ 1271–72, yet an examination of the urban context before and after these major construction projects clearly shows their importance. All three extant madrasas in Sivas were built after the Mongol invasion of Anatolia—though of course it is possible that this is a distorted picture resulting from the destruction of monuments. The Danishmendids, the Turkish rulers of the region of Sivas in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries and victims of Seljuk centralization, built madrasas in other Anatolian cities.[6] In Sivas, they commissioned the Great Mosque in 609/ 1212–13, of which only the original brick minaret remains.

The first Mongol intrusion in 629/ 1231–32, which damaged the neighborhoods *extra muros* in particular and was followed by the battle of Kösedağ ten years later, may have changed the urban landscape.[7] After Baybars's Mamluk armies defeated the Mongol forces at Abūlustayn in 675/ 1277, the Ilkhanid ruler Abāqā Khān was apparently so enraged that he ordered his troops to lay Anatolia to waste. Only an intervention by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Juwaynī, a high official of the Ilkhanids in Iran, was able to deter the execution of this order. Juwaynī offered to ransom certain cities, apparently paying his enraged overlord the equivalent of the expected

5 Amitai, *Mongols and Mamluks:* 157–78.
6 Kuran, *Anadolu Medreseleri:* 11–20.
7 Ibn Bībī, tr. Duda: 229–30.

plunder out of his own pocket. The cities in question are not mentioned in the source, with the exception of "half of Sivas," suggesting that the city had incurred some damage by this point.[8] Considering that the Çifte Minareli Medrese had been completed six years earlier, Juwaynī obviously had a personal stake in preserving Sivas, including both the madrasa and the property attached to it. Unfortunately, it is not known what this property encompassed or whether Juwaynī had commissioned other monuments in Sivas in addition to the Çifte Minareli Medrese and its annexes.

In addition to the repeated disruption of the urban fabric of Sivas over the course of the thirteenth century, the destruction of the city during the Timurid invasion of Anatolia in 802/ 1400 may have been responsible for the loss of a considerable number of earlier monuments. As a result of this invasion, the walls of the city were destroyed and not rebuilt again until the mid-fifteenth century.[9]

The destruction of madrasas is not specifically mentioned in the sources pertaining to the events just described. The only monument founded under Seljuk rule that is still extant in Sivas today, known as the Şifaiye Medrese, is all that remains of a double complex comprising a hospital and madrasa, built in 614/ 1216–17 under the rule of 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs I.[10] The surviving hospital was converted into a madrasa in the sixteenth century.[11] On the whole, the Seljuk sultans took only a limited interest in Sivas, compared with their detailed and extensive efforts to shape Konya into a capital beginning in the late twelfth century. As a result, the construction of the tomb of 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs I is one of the few recorded instances of patronage, along with the reconstruction of the walls of Sivas during the rule of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād.[12] Unlike other cities, in Sivas no inscriptions from the city walls have been preserved, or at least none have been discovered to date. Consequently, the kind of information contained in inscriptions from Sinop and Antalya, for example about the notables involved in financing and managing such construction projects, has been lost for Sivas.[13]

While written sources can offer information about the existence and location of no longer extant madrasas, they provide less insight into their architecture.

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[8] Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh*, ed. and tr. Arends, vol. 3: 144–7 of the Persian text and vol. 3: 90–91 of the Russian translation; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jami' u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles,* tr. Thackston, vol. 3: 537. The passage is mentioned without reference in Jean Aubin, *Emirs mongols et vizirs persans dans les remous de l'acculturation*, Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes, 1995: 24, and with references to Rashīd al-Dīn and similar accounts in Mamluk sources in Amitai, *Mongols and Mamluks:* 176–7.

[9] Faroqhi, "Sīwās."

[10] In the foundation inscription of the extant section, the monument is referred to as "*dār al-ṣiḥḥa*" (house of health), *RCEA,* no. 3809. For the results of an excavation that revealed the adjacent madrasa, see: Sedat Çetintaş, *Sivas Darüşşifası*, Istanbul: İbrahim Horoz Basımevi, 1953; Sedat Çetintaş, "Türk Tarih Kurumu tarafından Sivas Şifaiyesinde yaptırılan mimarî hafriyatı," *Belleten* III (1939): 61–7.

[11] Faroqhi, "Sīwās"; Refet Yinanç, "Sivas Abideleri ve Vakıfları," *Vakıflar Dergisi* XXII (1991): 18–19.

[12] Ibn Bībī, *Selçuknâme*, tr. Yinanç, 81–2; Kurt Erdmann, *Ibn Bībī als kunsthistorische Quelle*, Istanbul: Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, 1962: 19. In Konya, the beauty of the surrounding landscape incited the sultan to establish stronger fortifications for this city: Redford, *Landscape and the State:* 53.

[13] For an overview of the types of inscriptions that provide information on the construction of walls in other Anatolian cities in the early thirteenth century, see: Redford, "City Building in Seljuq Rum."

The *waqfiya* of the Gök Medrese contains a detailed description of the location of real estate within the city, the tax revenue from which was used for the maintenance of the madrasa and its dependencies. These descriptions include the names of several madrasas, yet their location within the city is difficult to determine since the position of the buildings is described in relation to each other, and recognizable or extant landmarks are rarely mentioned.[14]

The Seljuks and Ilkhanids competed for power in late thirteenth-century Anatolia, at both the imperial and the local level. Allegiances constantly shifted as notables came and went in this unstable environment. As a result, architectural patronage did not correlate directly with political domination and power. Rather, subtly different levels of patronage, power, and land ownership existed, though at times they were very closely related. Even so, there was an undeniable connection between the Ilkhanids' heightened political and military interest in Anatolia and the short-lived surge in patronage. In his study of *waqf* as a factor in the Islamization of Anatolia, Gary Leiser suggests that the reference to "infidels" in the introduction of the Gök Medrese *waqfiya* was a statement against the Mongol advance.[15] A similar stipulation is also part of the *waqfiya* of Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy, dated 649/ 1251, when the Mongols had already become the Seljuks' overlords, and the same phrase is used, perhaps referring to the unbelievers who had taken power.[16] On the other hand, because the Mongols—in other words, the Ilkhanids—were the official overlords of the region during the period in question, such a statement could have been considered quite bold. Thus, it is possible that this was simply a topos used in *waqfiya*s, especially those related to madrasas, which emphasized the teaching of Islamic law and the establishment of the right way in religious terms.

Patronage for particular scholars drawn to Sivas may have played a crucial role. However, we do not know who these scholars were and whether they were present in the city before the three madrasas were built. They may have been scholars who had earlier been active in Konya or other Anatolian cities, but were now lured to Sivas by the prospect of employment and increased resources in the foundations. The latter possibility seems more likely given the major impact immigrants from Iran and Central Asia had on the cultural, intellectual, and economic life of Anatolia.[17] The absence of references to medieval Anatolia in biographical dictionaries poses a great challenge to the study of its scholarly networks. This is why there are no studies of the ulema of Anatolia as there are for Cairo, Damascus or Baghdad. While widely scattered references in sources pertaining both to Anatolia and neighboring regions might provide some material for tracing scholars, such research would require the study of multiple types of sources in a variety of languages and has not been undertaken systematically to date.

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[14] Attarlar Medrese, Selçukiye Medrese, Medrese-i Şerife, and Madrasa al-Mubāraka are mentioned in: Bayram and Karabacak: 51–2.

[15] Leiser, "The Waqf as an Instrument of Cultural Transformation in Seljuk Anatolia."

[16] In the latter document, the passage reads: "[...] wa qaṭa'a dābir 'l-kufr wa-aṭfa'a nārahū wa-kabbara [one word missing] 'l-shirk [...]," in English: "[...] and cut the root of infidelity and extinguish its fire and increase [one word missing] (of?) polytheism," Turan, "Selçuklu devri vakfiyeleri III:" 129, lines 9–10 of the main text.

[17] Köprülü, *The Seljuks of Anatolia*: 5–6.

Based on the record of extant and otherwise documented buildings, it appears that in the first half of the thirteenth century the Seljuks neglected Sivas somewhat, at least in comparison with ʻAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayqubād's extensive patronage in Konya.[18] Patronage by Ilkhanid officials may have led to the architectural revival in the city and in central Anatolia after the hiatus caused by unrest following the first Mongol incursions in the 1240s and by the upheaval of the Baba'is, a rebelling anti-nomian Sufi group centered in the region of Amasya, during the reign of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II (r. 636–44/ 1237–46).[19]

The period of unrest caused by these rebellions in the 1230s, along with the Mongol conquest in 639/ 1243 was responsible for a decrease in construction activity that lasted several decades. Only with the increased stability that came with the emergence of officials who had come to terms with Mongol rule (such as Muʻīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* and Ṣāḥib ʻAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī) was there a new surge in patronage from the late 1260s onwards. As I showed in Chapter 1, some of this new construction activity took place in Konya; however, other cities benefitted as well, with Sivas being the most striking example for the reshaping of urban centers. Within the urban context of Sivas, the respective locations of the three madrasas are of great significance. Two of the madrasas, the Buruciye Medrese and Çifte Minareli Medrese, were built within the perimeter of the Inner or Lower Citadel (Figure 2.1).

This walled section of the city center, located within the larger perimeter of the outer wall, served as the city's administrative hub into early modern times.[20] Its walls no longer exist today, but an approximate reconstruction is possible based on written sources such as Evliyâ Çelebî's account. The walls and main buildings of Sivas are recognizable in a depiction of the city (Figure 2.2) in Matrakçı Nasuh's *Beyân-ı menâzil-i sefer-i ʻIrâkeyn-i Sulṭân Süleymân Hân*, an illustrated description of the Ottoman sultan Süleyman the Magnificent's (r. 926–74/ 1520–66) campaign to Iran and Iraq against the Safavids of Iran in 939–43/ 1533–36.[21] The same illustration also shows the Gök Medrese, located outside the inner walls at the foot of the Upper Citadel. The Great Mosque of Sivas with its tall brick minaret, built in 609/ 1212–13, stands nearby.

Within the Inner Citadel, the Çifte Minareli Medrese is located opposite the hospital of ʻIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs. The Buruciye Medrese stands close by. The hospital of ʻIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs was originally a larger structure, containing a madrasa in addition to the surviving hospital.[22] With its double function and the addition of a royal mausoleum, the complex was thus similar to the Çifte Medrese (602/ 1205) in Kayseri, founded according to the stipulations of the testament of ʻIṣmat al-Dunyā wa ʻl-Dīn Gawhar Nasība.[23] The mausoleum it includes was probably that of its founder, a daughter of the Seljuk sultan Qilij Arslān (r. 551–88/ 1156–96).[24]

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[18] For an extensive study of this sultan's patronage, see: Yalman, "Building the Sultanate of Rum."

[19] Rogers, "Patronage," 263–72; Ocak, *La révolte de Baba Resul*.

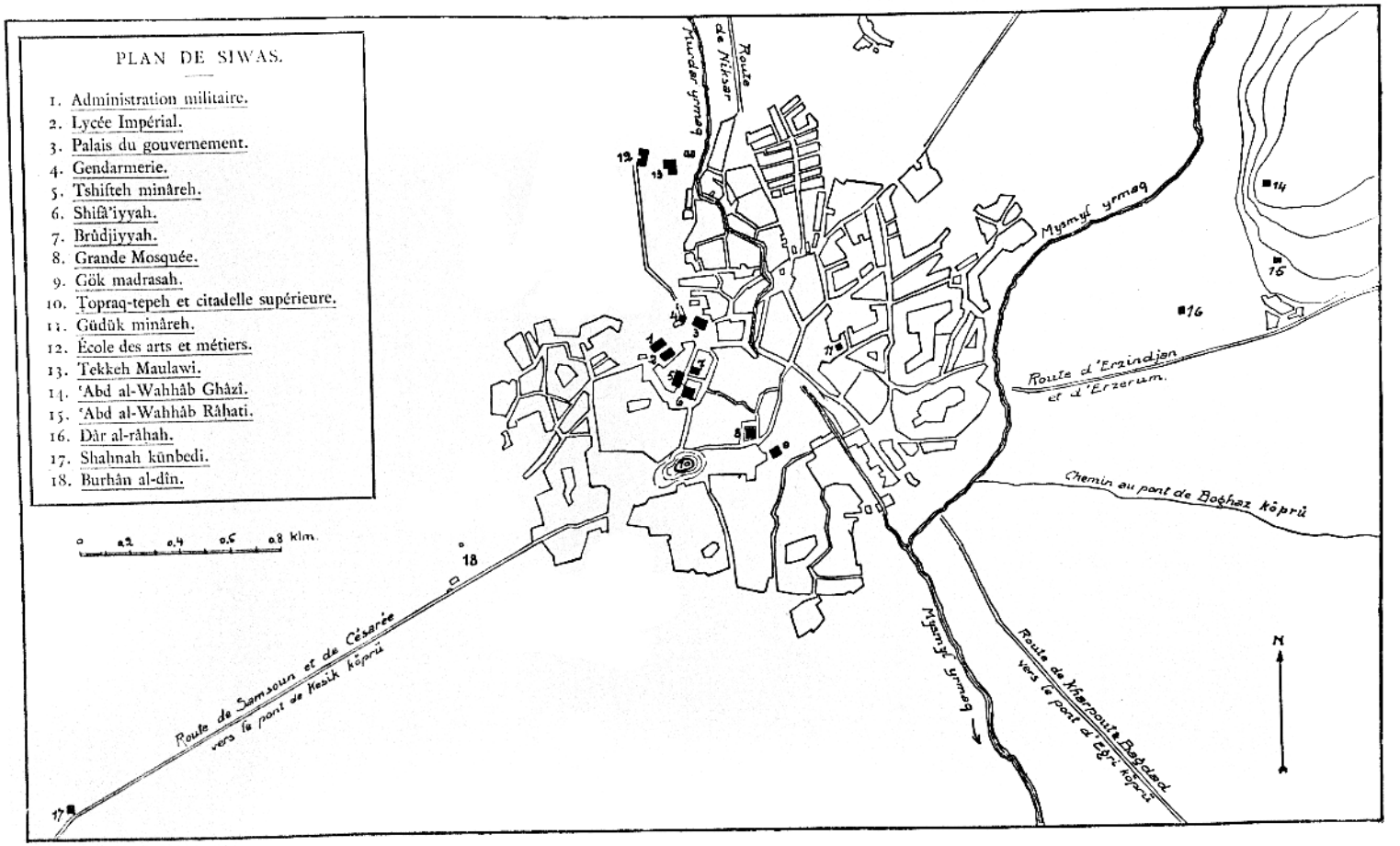
[20] Evliyâ Çelebî, *Seyahatnâme,* ed. Y. Dağlı, R. Dankoff, S. A. Kahraman, Z. Kurşun, vol. 3: 122.

[21] Matrakçi Nasûh, *Beyân-ı menâzil-i sefer-i ʻIrâkeyn-i Sulṭân Süleymân Hân*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi (Istanbul University Library), TY 5964, fol. 20a; published in Matrakçi Nasûh, *Beyân-ı menâzil-i sefer-i ʻIrâkeyn-i Sulṭân Süleymân Hân*, ed. Hüseyin G. Yurdaydın, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1976.

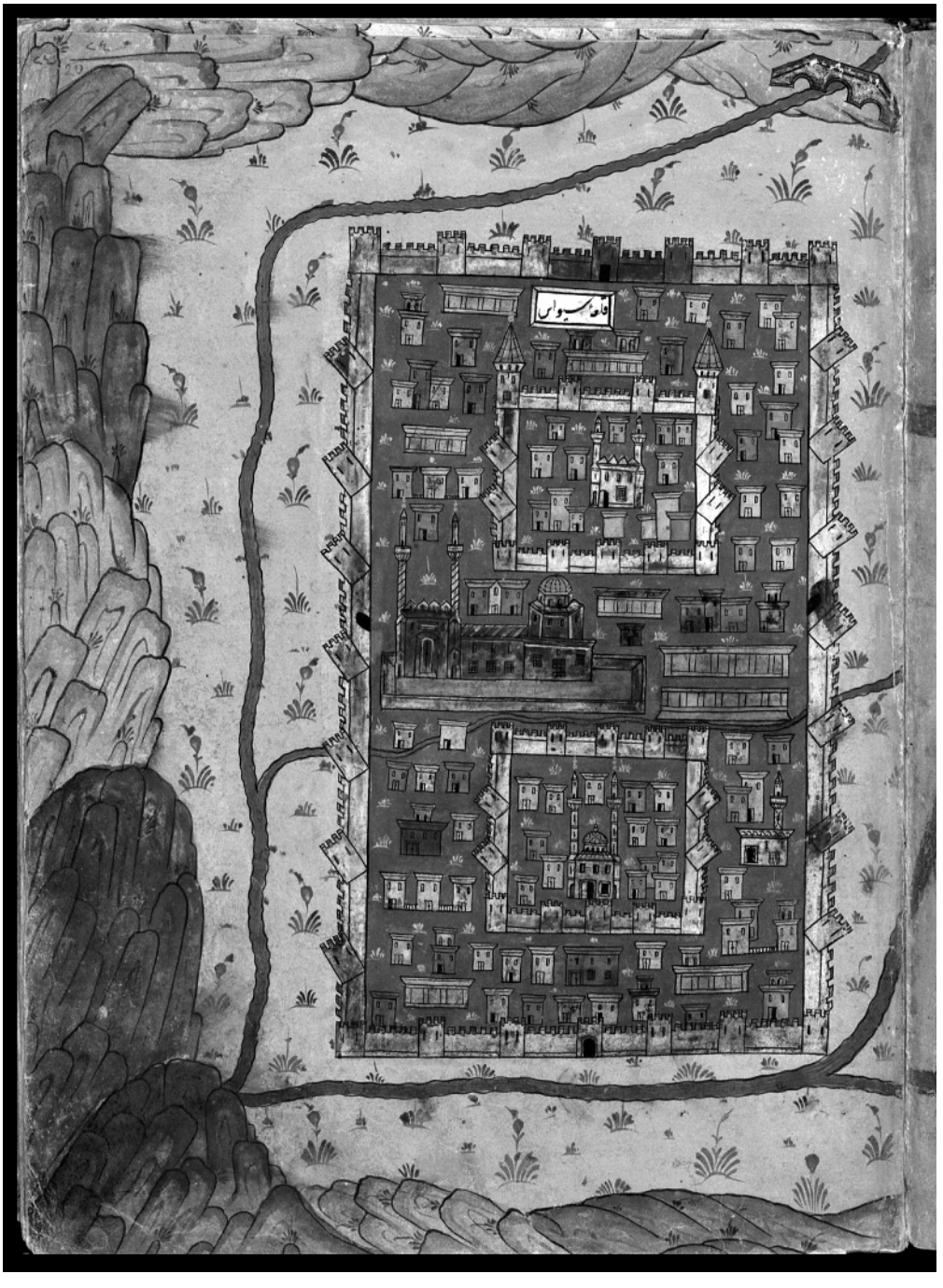
[22] Sözen, *Anadolu Medreseleri,* vol. 1: 59–63; Çetintaş, *Sivas Darüşşifası*; Çetintaş, "Türk Tarih Kurumu tarafından Sivas Şifaiyesinde yaptırılan mimarî hafriyatı."

[23] For the foundation inscription, see: *RCEA*, no. 3616.

[24] On the monument, see: Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie,* vol. 2: 61–2; Sözen, *Anadolu Medreseleri*, vol. 1: 80, 83; Kuran, *Anadolu Medreseleri:* 66–7.



2.1 Plan of Sivas, van Berchem and Halil Edhem (Eldem), *MCIA*: Plate I



2.2 Sivas, watercolor on paper, Matrakçı Nasûh, *Beyân-ı Menâzil-i Sefer-i 'Irâkeyn-i Sulṭân Süleymân Hân,* 943/1537, Istanbul University Library, TY 5964, fol. 20a, Sivas. By permission of Istanbul University Library

The hospital of 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs in Sivas thus also appears to have had an important role in the city's earlier Seljuk patronage. Even though it falls short of the elaborate efforts made in Konya, the presence of such a double monument in the city center nevertheless points to the prominence of the site. It is possible that the hospital of 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs was part of a larger Seljuk palatial precinct, which may have included residential structures and gardens.[25] Before the construction of the Buruciye Medrese and Çifte Minareli Medrese, the site was certainly large enough. If the Çifte Minareli Medrese and Buruciye Medrese were indeed established on a royal Seljuk site, this undertaking assumes a meaning that goes beyond the simple act of building in a city center. This possibility will be analyzed in greater depth as part of the discussion of the patrons that follows.

Together with the hospital of 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs, the Çifte Minareli Medrese forms a relatively narrow alley that virtually forces one to enter its monumental portal. The two portals face each other, yet the Çifte Minareli Medrese's dominates because it is taller and crowned by two brick minarets (Plate 1). However, this placement also makes it more difficult to view its façade; the architects may have compensated for this in their choice and distribution of decorative elements. Located just a few hundred meters to the northwest of these buildings is the Buruciye Medrese, which now stands opposite the late sixteenth-century Mehmed Paşa Mosque.

The Çifte Minareli Medrese

The minarets of the Çifte Minareli Medrese, rising from what remains of its façade, tower over a park in the center of Sivas that was established over several years in the first decade of the twenty-first century, and dominate the other buildings on the same site, particularly the early thirteenth-century Şifaiye Medrese. Even though the park highlights the presence of several historical monuments at the center of Sivas, its creation also obliterated some archaeological relics, particularly those behind the façade of the Çifte Minareli Medrese.

The building itself was unique from the outset in that it was one of the few direct Ilkhanid interventions in Anatolia before 675/ 1277. The patron of the Çifte Minareli Medrese was the *ṣāḥib dīwān* (a position akin to that of a minister of finance) of the Ilkhanid sultan, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Juwaynī (d. 683/ 1284). Born to an Iranian family that briefly rose to prominence under Mongol rule in the 1260s, Juwaynī was only one of several members of his family to hold a high position.[26] His brother was 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik Juwaynī (d. 682/ 1283), governor

[25] I thank Professor Scott Redford for this suggestion.

[26] "Cüveynî, Şams al-Dīn Muhammed b. Muhammed," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi: Islâm âlemi tarih, coğrafya, etnografya ve biyografya lûgati*, Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basimevi, 1950–1988, vol. 3: 255–9; Wilhelm Barthold and John Andrew Boyle, "Djuwaynī, 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā-Malik," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/djuwayni-SIM_2131, accessed 20 February 2014.

of Iraq and Khuzestan for over 20 years,[27] who is better known as the author of the *Tārīkh-i Jahān-gūshā* (*History of the World Conqueror*), a chronicle covering the Mongol reign, from the conquests of Genghis Khan to the reign of the Ilkhanid Hülegü (r. 654–60/ 1256–62).[28]

Both brothers were members of the Persianate Muslim elite that took on the task of serving the Ilkhanid administration in Iran and Iraq after the execution of the Abbasid caliph during the conquest of Baghdad in 656/ 1258.[29] The fortunes of the clan turned in the late 1270s, after the brothers were suspected of conspiring with the Mamluks, the Ilkhanids' archrivals. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad managed to avoid the accusations, but 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik was imprisoned and tortured, though he was released eventually. When he was once again accused of treason in 682/ 1283, the elderly vizier was unable to bear the news and died, apparently of a stroke.[30]

Not much is known about Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Juwaynī and his brother as patrons of architecture.[31] In Baghdad, where the family was centered after 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik became governor in 657/ 1259, a mausoleum connected to a Madrasa 'Iṣmatiyya, known only from written sources, served for the burial of several relatives. It was looted after 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik's arrest in 679/ 1281 and he was later buried in a family cemetery near Tabriz.[32] Evidence for Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Juwaynī's patronage is even scarcer, and not a single securely attributed monument has been preserved, except for the Çifte Minareli Medrese in Sivas.[33]

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Juwaynī is not known to have commissioned any monuments in Anatolia other than the madrasa in Sivas. Juwaynī's involvement in Anatolia was associated with attempts to strengthen Mongol rule over the region in the 1270s, and especially in 675/ 1277, several years after the construction of the madrasa. That year, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Juwaynī was appointed the *ṣāḥib dīwān* for Anatolia to help bring stability to the region. His son, Sharaf al-Dīn Hārūn, remained in Anatolia after his father's return to Iran.[34] Unlike his father, however, he is not noted as a patron of architecture.

Sara Nur Yıldız notes that Ibn Bībī, the main chronicler of Seljuk rule in Anatolia, highly praised the Juwaynī family, probably largely because 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik had commissioned his work.[35] The fact that a Juwaynī commissioned a history of the Seljuks, focusing on the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaykubād I (r. 616–36/ 1220–37), is significant insofar as it reveals a desire to understand the history of Anatolia as

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[27] "Cüveynî, 'Alâ al-Dîn 'Atâ Malik b. Muhammed," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi: Islâm âlemi tarih, coğrafya, etnografya ve biyografya lûgati*, Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basimevi, 1950–1988, vol. 3: 249–55; Bertold Spuler, "Djuwaynī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/djuwayni-SIM_2132>, accessed 20 February 2014.

[28] al-Juwaynī, *Genghis Khan: the history of the world conqueror*.

[29] "Il-Khanids," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Vol. XII, Fasc. 6: 651 http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/il-khanids-index, accessed 4 February 2013; Aubin, *Emirs mongols et vizirs persans*.

[30] Spuler, "Djuwaynī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad"; Yıldız, "Mongol Rule in thirteenth-century Seljuk Anatolia," 558–74.

[31] Rogers generally does not take the Juwaynīs for great builders: Rogers, "Patronage:" 233.

[32] Rogers, "Patronage": 230.

[33] Rogers, "Patronage": 231–2.

[34] Küçükhüseyin, *Selbst- und Fremdwahrnehmung:* 139–40.

[35] Yıldız, "Mongol Rule in thirteenth-century Seljuk Anatolia," 548–54; Küçükhüseyin, *Selbst- und Fremdwahrnehmung:* 140–42; Ibn Bībī, tr. Duda: 2.

it came under Mongol rule. Ibn Bībī's attitude towards the Mongols throughout his work is rather ambiguous: he describes the horrors of conquest as well as the presents received by Seljuk ambassadors who travelled to the Ilkhanid court. In this respect, he displays an attitude similar to that of 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik who, in his *Tārīkh-i Jahān-gūshā* (*History of the World Conqueror*), tries to negotiate a position somewhere between his Mongol employers and the Muslims of his native Persia, shaken by the destructive force of the conquest.

In the context of the Ilkhanids' attempts to gain military control over a restive area, the foundation of an important madrasa in a central Anatolian city as commercially and administratively significant as Sivas is too striking to be a mere coincidence. Given Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Juwaynī's position within the Ilkhanid administration, we may assume that political factors played a major role in the decision to build the madrasa. Moreover, the possible presence of a Seljuk palace on this site, even if no longer in use at the time of Juwaynī's intervention, would have conveyed additional prestige to the choice to build there. The foundation inscription on the portal of the Çifte Minareli Medrese betrays its patron's political intentions: against custom, it does not mention the name of a ruler—neither that of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Juwaynī's Ilkhanid overlord, nor that of the Seljuk sultan, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw III (r. 662–82/ 1264–83), who was nominally still in power.[36] The inscription (Figure 2.3) over the portal of the Çifte Minareli Medrese states:

> The construction of this blessed madrasa was ordered by the great statesman, the king of the viziers (ministers) of the world, Shams al-Dīn wa 'l-Dunyā Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, the ṣāḥib dīwān, may God perpetuate his rule, in the year 670.[37]

In the absence of the *nisba* in the patron's titles in the inscription, the two historians who first published it, Rıdvan Nâfiz (Edgüer) and İsmail Hakkı (Uzunçarşılı), suggested that the patron might be Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Juwaynī.[38] Considering the names and titles mentioned in the inscription, this identification is certainly convincing. The titles used in the inscription are ones generally reserved for the Seljuk sultan, thus placing Juwaynī center stage in a location that, while it was central for Anatolia, was relatively peripheral for the Ilkhanids. The absence of the Seljuk sultan's name points to the shift in rule and loss of actual power experienced by the Seljuks. Since the patron, Juwaynī, was a high official among Ilkhanid rulers, his choice was perhaps an obvious one, yet there are no other examples in Anatolia to corroborate the suggestion. Other patrons for whom an Ilkhanid connection can be inferred, such as the patron of the Buruciye Medrese, or Nūr al-Dīn Jājā, the *amīr* of Kırşehir from 659/ 1261 until his capture by the Mamluks in 675/ 1277,

[36] Moreover, the mention of the ruler's name on inscriptions was not—unlike his mention on coins *(sikka)* and in Friday prayers *(khuṭba)*—an absolute privilege: Lorenz Korn, *Ayyubidische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien: Bautätigkeit im Kontext von Politik und Gesellschaft 564–658/1169–1260*, two vols., Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 2004, vol. 1: 165.

[37] My translation, after *RCEA*, no. 4644 and my photographs of the inscription. The Arabic text: "Amara bi-'imāra hādhihi 'l-madrasa 'l-ṣāḥib 'l-a'ẓam malik mulūk 'l-wuzarā' fī 'l-'ālam Shams al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn Muḥammad bin Muḥammad ṣāḥib 'l-dīwān khallada 'llāhu dawlatahū fī sana saba'īna wa sittamā'ia."

[38] Rıdvan Nâfiz (Edgüer) and İsmail Hakkı (Uzunçarşılı), *Sivas şehri*, Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası 1346 [1928]: 114–15.

2.3 Çifte Minareli Medrese, Sivas, foundation inscription, author's photograph

mentioned the ruling Seljuk sultan in their inscriptions, perhaps due to their lower rank.[39] Thus, it may have been Juwaynī's high status that gave him the leverage to defy epigraphic convention. Less surprising, on the other hand, is the omission of the Ilkhanid ruler, who had not yet converted to Islam and was thus a rather inappropriate figure for the foundation inscription of a religious monument.[40] It was not until after Ghāzān Khan's conversion to Islam in 694/ 1295 that the Ilkhanid rulers appeared in the foundation inscriptions of Islamic buildings. In Anatolia, the first such example is the inscription on the so-called Bimarhane, a hospital in Amasya, built in 708/ 1308, which I will discuss in Chapter 4.

The Çifte Minareli Medrese has been a ruin for some time; the ground plan was recently traced with stone slabs, and the entire area behind the remaining façade paved over, obliterating any archaeological traces.[41] With the exception of the portal façade that still stands today, the remains of the building were torn down in 1882 to make way for a hospital that was later turned into a school. It was only at that point that the final decision to keep the façade in place was made, after its destruction was considered.[42] According to Max van Berchem, the building was destroyed in order to accommodate a military school on the site.[43] Aptullah Kuran corroborates this information insofar as he indicates that a hospital was constructed here in 1882.[44] Following an excavation in the 1960s, Halûk Karamağaralı reconstructed the madrasa as part of a larger complex.[45] Based on Karamağaralı's reconstruction, the madrasa was a four-*īwān* structure with two levels, and the surrounding buildings included a bathhouse and possibly a *khānqāh*, a structure designated for Sufis.[46]

The portal (Figure 2.4) does not project as far out into the street from the wall-line of the façade as it does in many other thirteenth-century buildings in Anatolia, including the Buruciye Medrese and Gök Medrese.

This peculiarity may have been due to the narrow space available for construction, assuming that the wall of the Inner Citadel was relatively close to the back wall of the building, which is no longer extant. The lateral sections of the façade, especially the corner buttresses, are less well preserved: on the eastern side, most of the buttress and the full height of the wall remain intact, except for the cornice; on the western side, approximately one quarter of the original height of the buttress remains. This state is already apparent in photographs taken by van Berchem in the late 1890s and by de Jerphanion, probably in 1905.

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[39] On Nūr al-Dīn Jājā's life, see: Temir, *Kırşehir emiri Caca oğlu Nur el-Din'in 1272 tarihli Arapça-Moğolca vakfiyesi:* 8–13, 297–301. On the building, see: Ali Saim Ülgen, "Kırşehir'de Türk Eserleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi* II (1942): 255–6 and Figs. 1–13.

[40] For general rules applying to the titles of medieval Muslim rulers, see: Nikita Elisséeff, "La titulature de Nūr ad-Dīn d'après ses inscriptions," *Bulletin des Etudes Orientales* 14 (1952–54): 155–96.

[41] This restoration was undertaken between 2008 and 2010, as part of a larger project of turning the area around the three madrasas into a park.

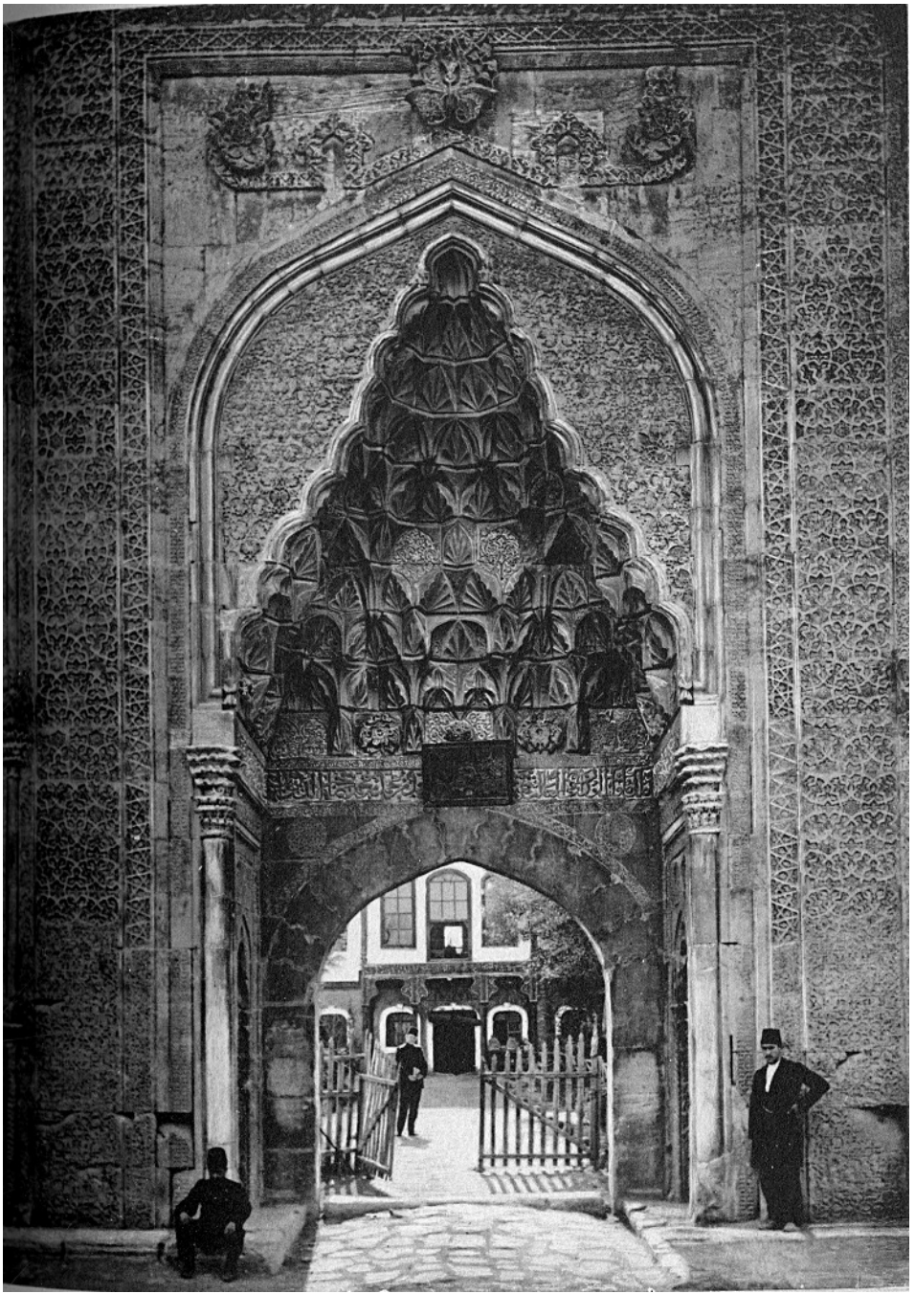
[42] Rıdvan Nâfiz (Edgüer) and İsmail Hakkı (Uzunçarşılı), *Sivas şehri:* 113.

[43] van Berchem and Halil Edhem (Eldem), *MCIA :* 5.

[44] Kuran, *Anadolu Medreseleri:* 115; the plan on p. 116 shows only the façade. Halûk Karamağaralı excavated the destroyed part and presented his paper at the Uluslararası III. Türk Sanatları Kongresi (Third International Congress of Turkish Art) in 1967.

[45] İnci San, "Cambridge'de yapılan üçüncü Uluslararası Türk Sanatı Kongresi," *Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Fakültesi Dergisi* 1/ 1 (1968): 269; Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen,* vol. 2: 451.

[46] Kuran, *Anadolu Medreseleri:* 116; Sözen, *Anadolu Medreseleri*, vol. 1: 59–62 and Fig. 10.



2.4 Çifte Minareli Medrese, Sivas, portal with new construction in the background, Guillaume de Jerphanion, *Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne: Monuments préhelléniques, gréco-romains, byzantins et musulmans de Pont, de Cappadoce et de Galatie*, Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, vol. XIII, Beyrut: Imprimerie catholique, 1928: pl. XXIX

The tall brick minarets towering over the portal are the façade's most striking feature, clearly distinguishing it from the pattern established by many early thirteenth-century monuments in Anatolia: namely, a straight façade with a salient portal block in the middle. The Şifaiye Medrese serves as an example for this type of façade that was used in secular buildings, most importantly caravanserais, as well, and has been associated with Seljuk rule to quite an extent.[47] Mosques in thirteenth-century Anatolia generally had tall brick minarets such as that of the Great Mosque in Sivas, built in 609/ 1212–13 (Figure 2.5).

The only extant example of a pair of minarets associated with a mosque is that of the Sahib Ata Complex in Konya, built in 656/ 1258, that I discussed in Chapter 1. Also in Konya, we find one of the rare examples, in Anatolia, of a madrasa with a single minaret: the İnce Minareli Medrese with its tall brick minaret (see Figure 1.10) that was, however, also associated with a small mosque-room located at its base and recorded in the monument's *waqfiya*.[48]

The minarets of the Çifte Minareli Medrese show traces of tile decoration on the outsides of their bases (Figure 2.6). In the lower part of the shaft, twelve blind arches on each minaret were probably completely covered with tile mosaics. Turquoise and purple glazed tiles can still be seen on the shafts of the minarets. More tile decoration was placed at the back of the minarets, where they join the façade; today, only the imprint of tiles is still visible—probably kufic writing geometrically inserted into a square, possibly the remains of a much larger decorative program.[49]

To both sides of the portal, a framed niche is placed slightly above the present street level. On the right side, the space between this niche and the fragmentary corner tower is taken up by two decorative shallow niches: one is adorned with a *muqarnas* hood in a rectangular frame scheme,[50] the other is decorated with a knotted motif that bears an inscription similar to the monumental version on the portal of the İnce Minareli Medrese in Konya, built in the 1260s. The latter niche evokes the façade of the İnce Minareli Medrese, thus integrating a reference to an earlier building as a demonstration of power, similar to what we will see for Erzurum in Chapter 3. According to Wolper, a second decorative niche represents the portal of the Sahib Ata Complex in Konya.[51] Such subtle, almost coy, references to buildings in other regions of Anatolia abound on all three of the madrasas in Sivas, although they are less clear on the Buruciye Medrese, a monument that remains more locally rooted.

On the left side of the façade of the Çifte Minareli Medrese, a *muqarnas* niche is inserted into the center of the wall at a considerable height, just below the frieze

[47] Ethel Sara Wolper, "Portal Patterns in Seljuk and Beylik Anatolia," in: Çiğdem Kafescioğlu and Lucienne Thys-Şenocak (eds) *Aptullah Kuran için yazılar*, Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999: 65–80.

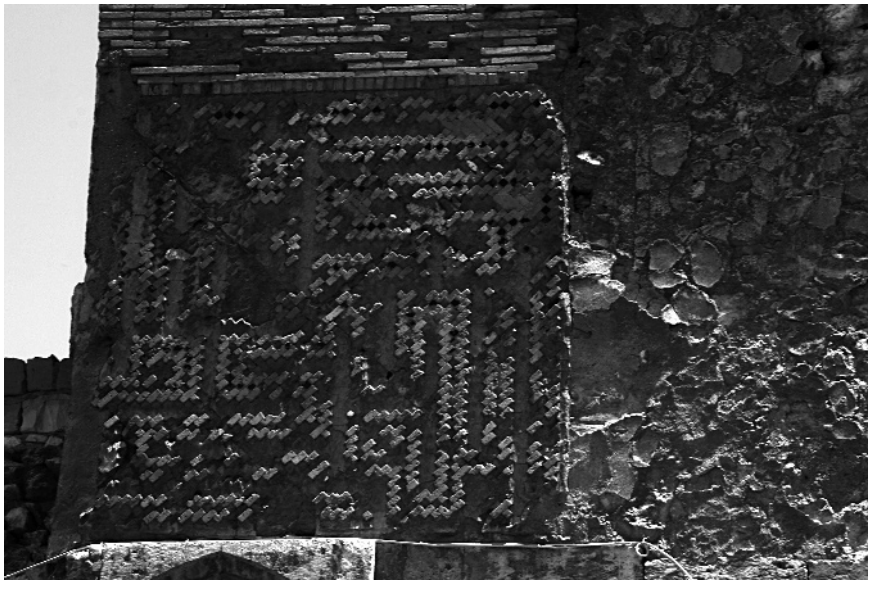
[48] See Chapter 1.

[49] The interior of the madrasa must have been richly decorated with tiles as well. Meinecke saw fragments recovered in Karamağaralı's excavation of the Çifte Minareli Medrese: Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: 452.

[50] For details, see Gabriel, *Monuments turcs*, vol. 2: pl. XLIII.

[51] I thank Professor Oya Pancaroğlu for discussing these elements with me. They are studied in Ethel Sara Wolper, "Understanding the public face of piety: philanthropy and architecture in late Seljuk Anatolia," *Mésogeios* 25–26 (2005): 332–3.

2.5 Great Mosque, Sivas, minaret, author's photograph



2.6 Çifte Minareli Medrese, Sivas, fragments of tile decoration at the back of the minaret base, author's photograph

that closes off the wall in its present state; the cornice is no longer extant. Between the larger niche and corner buttress, possible fragments of two niches smaller than those on the right side are visible.

The portal itself consists of a doorway set deep into the wall and surrounded by a series of rectangular frames that embellish the structure of the wall, making the decorative frames rather than the door itself the focus of attention. These frames are ornamented with various types of decoration—vegetal and geometric motifs—and inscriptions. On both external sides, towards the flat wall surface, this series of frames is closed off by a rope molding interrupted by leaves and columns that subsequently continues around the corners and onto the upper part of the portal.

Three highly plastic floral motifs project from the façade below a stilted arch that separates the rectangular frames from the *muqarnas* hood over the doorway, which is in the form of a four-centered arch. The three motifs are connected with an angled band, more flatly decorated with another continuing floral motif. The spandrels between the arch and *muqarnas* are filled with a dense vegetal pattern. Employing different levels of relief, ranging from fine incisions carved into the stone to the plastic motifs at the top center of the façade, the stonemasons engaged in a game of light and shadow that is in some ways more subtle than the exuberant forms of the Great Mosque and Hospital in Divriği (626/ 1228–29), which I discuss in greater detail below.

The foundation inscription runs along all three sides of the portal niche, just below the ten rows of *muqarnas* that rise up in a triangular shape above the doorway. In the lowest row of *muqarnas*, the cells intersect in the middle through a projecting half-globe decorated with geometric netting and placed against a background of palmettes. There is a highly plastic floral motif on each side and, towards the corners, there are two blind arches filled with scrolls and palmettes.

The *muqarnas* hood is surrounded by a stilted arched molding, which springs from the capitals of the plain corner columns. The capitals show traces of several sculpted vegetal motifs, jutting out from the surface and arranged in rows. The spandrels between the *muqarnas* and molding are decorated with intricately carved floral motifs. A plain *muqarnas* niche surrounded by a rectangular frame with a kufesque pattern is inserted into the inner faces of the portal on both sides (Figure 2.7).

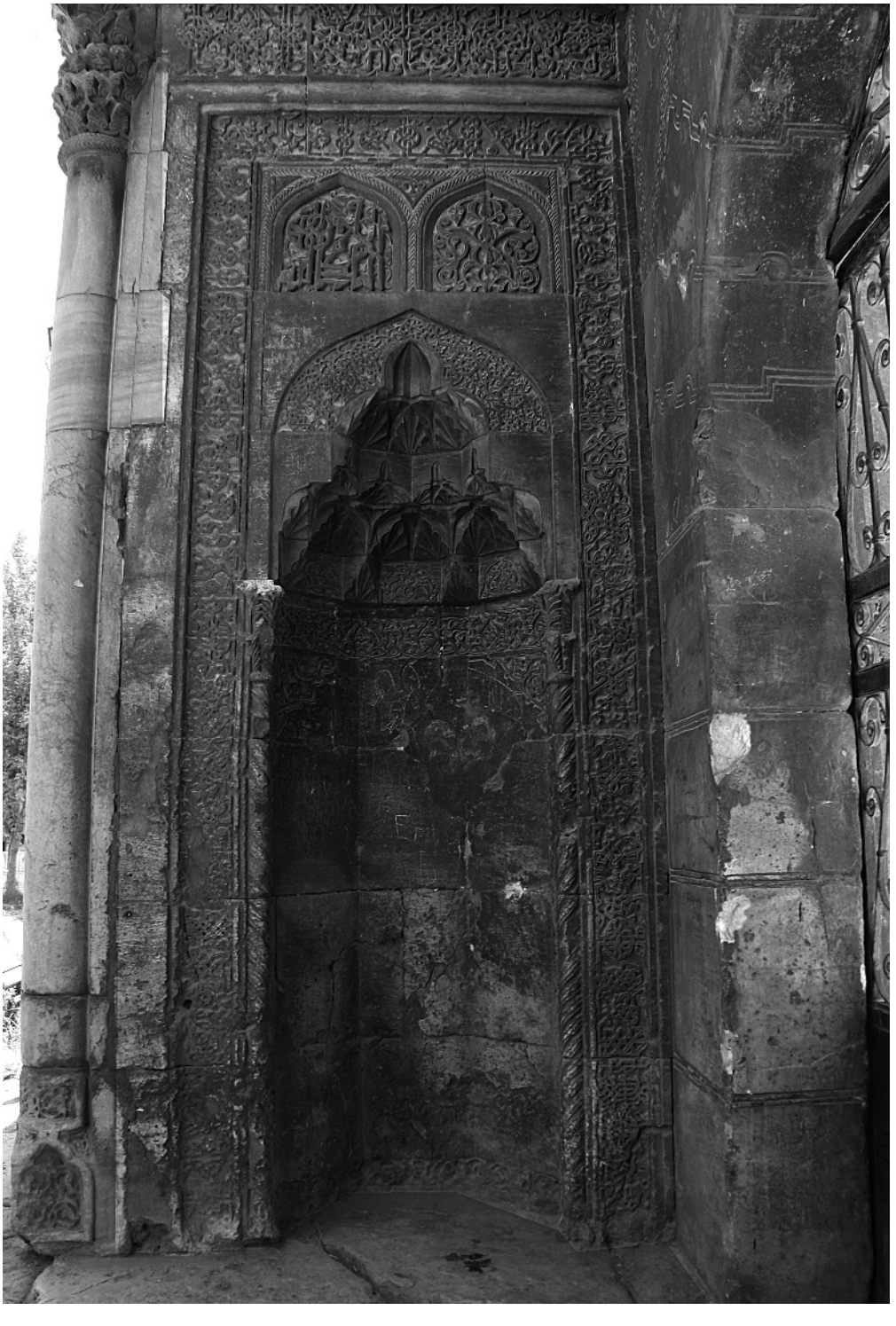
The niche begins above a low bench on the side of the portal and extends up to where the doorway arch begins. Its sides are closed off by engaged colonnettes with two-tiered vegetal capitals. As in the portal, a stilted arch (this time without a molding) runs around the *muqarnas* hood, and the spaces between the arch and *muqarnas* are decorated with geometric motifs. Above the *muqarnas*, below the continuing frame, are two small stilted arched panels, one decorated with a kufic inscription (*al-mulk li-llāh,* 'sovereignty belongs to God'), the other with a vegetal motif. A thin rope motif surrounds both panels. A tiny fleur-de-lys fills the triangular space between their apexes. Above the inscription frame and a plain rounded molding lies an Arabic inscription panel, in cursive rather than kufic script, with knotted lengths.

The niches placed in the façade to both sides of the portal are composed according to a scheme similar to that on its inner faces. The niche to the left of the portal (Figure 2.8) is placed in a slightly pointed arch decorated with finely carved vegetal motifs that enclose both the niche and *muqarnas* hood.

The spandrels between the *muqarnas* and arch are decorated with a rather flatly carved geometric medallion on either side. The subsequent band, decorated with highly plastic vegetal motifs, is closed off to both sides with a plain molding that slants inwards. The next frame is composed of an inscription in foliate kufic script, placed inside one final frame with a flatly carved vegetal motif.

A narrow vegetal band closes off a niche to the right of the portal. To the left of the niche, towards the portal, the same band continues, interlaced vertically between the niche and portal, and then runs parallel to the portal frame for some distance. It extends up to about three quarters of the height of the portal, where it may have continued around the corner and been part of the no-longer-extant cornice. On the left side of the façade, a similar band runs around the frames of the niche—upwards in parallel to the portal, around the corner and to the left until it reaches the inner edge of the corner buttress, and finally down again along its side. When the façade was complete, this band would have tied its elements together, integrating the focal point of the portal into the larger entity of the façade; it suggests symmetry where none is actually present and, by hinting at regularity, emphasizes the free combination of motifs even more conspicuously.

The corner buttresses at either end of the façade are elaborately decorated, beginning with a triangle-covered zone rising up from the foundation on the left. Above the triangles is a band with vegetal decoration. The zone above that extends up to the middle of the small windows in the façade and is decorated with rather shallow *muqarnas* niches, whose cells are carved with vegetal motifs. The subsequent section, roughly equal in height, is fluted, with some applied bulbous vegetal motifs.



2.7 Çifte Minareli Medrese, Sivas, portal, inner niche left, author's photograph

2.8 Çifte Minareli Medrese, Sivas, niche left of portal, author's photograph

The final section, which runs to the same height as the rest of the façade but appears to be broken off at the top, is decorated with interlaced angled bands. (The corner buttresses on the Gök Medrese in Sivas are decorated and structured in the same way. It is likely that the same workshop was employed for certain parts of the two monuments.) The base of the corner buttress on the right is decorated in the same way as the one on the left, though the fluted zone begins directly above the base, without the interposition of a *muqarnas* zone. The right corner buttress is more heavily decorated, with the projecting parts entirely covered with vegetal motifs that interlace according to the same scheme that is apparent in the uppermost zone of the left buttress.[52]

Overall, the façade is noteworthy for the creative way in which motifs familiar from other monuments are repeated, newly combined, and juxtaposed with new patterns, especially highly plastic vegetal forms. The combination of typically Anatolian stonework with the brick and tile decoration more commonly seen in Iran creates a renewed connection to the latter region, the center of the Ilkhanids. This combination of local and imported elements, however, was not new: already in the early thirteenth century, the Seljuks of Rūm had used this sort of mixing of elements and adopted Iranian names and associations of kingship in order to create a specific sense of place particular to Anatolia, where the early monuments built by the Seljuk sultans set a strong precedent for the conscious evocation of Iranian references.[53] Now, after the integration of Anatolia into the Mongol world system, a deliberate renaissance in references to Iran was paired with strongly accentuated local practices in style and material. The resulting architectural styles went beyond anything created by the craftsmen working for the Seljuk sultans, who had followed their masters' move towards a centralization of architectural style in the early thirteenth century.

Three views on the meaning of the style of the Çifte Minareli Medrese have been expressed: first, that the madrasa belongs to a continuous "Seljuk" style established in the early thirteenth century; second, that it reflects predominantly local connections to Divriği; and third, that it suggests Iranian influences through its patron, who may have brought craftsmen from Iran to Anatolia.[54] My argument aligns more strongly with the second opinion. Just how important local styles were in thirteenth-century Anatolia becomes clear when they are considered in the context of the construction of the three madrasas in Sivas, all of which contain references—more or less articulated—to the type of decoration established in Divriği. Thus, even though 40 years separate the building of the monument in Divriği and the madrasas in Sivas, many of the most striking elements of the former clearly became part of the stylistic vocabulary of the latter—a stylistic vocabulary particular to this city and moment in time, rather than a sign of a broader Seljuk or Ilkhanid idiom.

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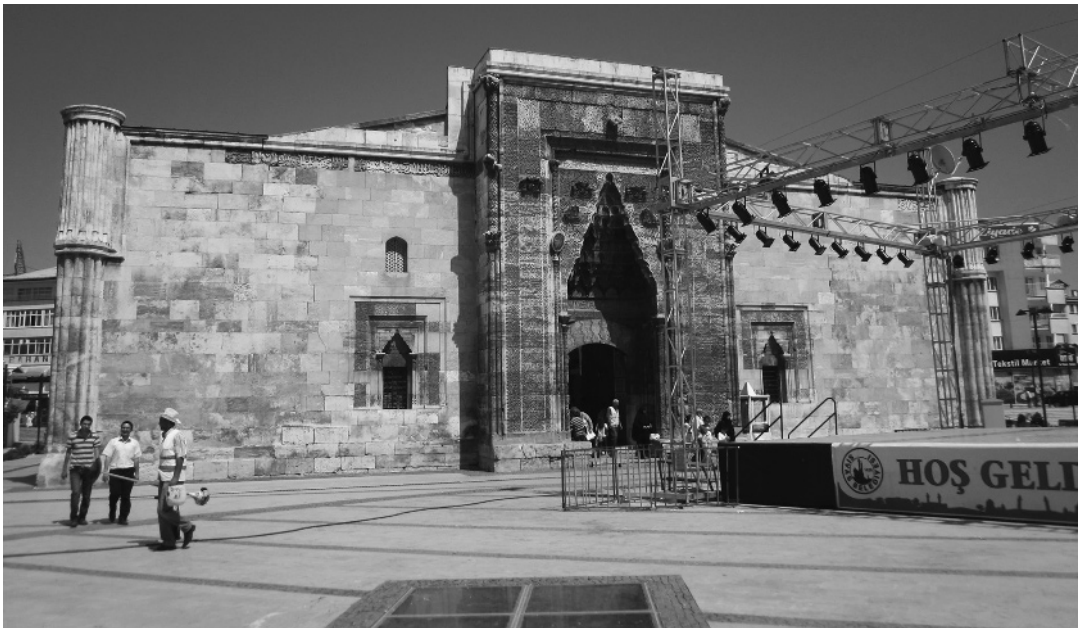
[52] The integration of these buttresses into the decorative scheme of the façade seems to be a new feature in the second half of the thirteenth century, beginning with the Sahibiye Medrese (666/1268) in Kayseri: J. Michael Rogers, "The Çifte Minare Medrese at Erzurum and the Gök Medrese at Sivas: A Contribution to the History of Style in the Seljuk Architecture of 13th Century Turkey," *Anatolian Studies* 15 (1965): 69.

[53] Gülru Necipoğlu, "Anatolia and the Ottoman Legacy," in: Hasan-Uddin Khan and Martin Frishman (eds) *The Mosque: History, Architectural Development and Regional Diversity*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1994: 149.

[54] Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: 451.



2.9 Buruciye Medrese, Sivas, view, author's photograph

The Buruciye Medrese

The patron of the Buruciye Medrese (Figure 2.9), Muẓaffar al-Dīn b. Hibāt-allāh al-Barūjirdī, is known only from the foundation inscription on this building, as no other written sources mention him.[55] The founder's *nisba*, al-Barūjirdī, refers to the town of Barūjird, located about 100 km south-southeast of Hamadan in Iran, which suggests that he might have been an Ilkhanid official, or that his family emigrated from Iran to Anatolia in the wake of the Mongol conquests of the 1220s. The fact that the Seljuk sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw III (r. 662–82/ 1264–83) is mentioned in the foundation inscription, however, suggests a Seljuk rather than Ilkhanid connection:

> This madrasa was built during the days of the rule of the great sultan Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn Abū 'l-Fatḥ Kaykhusraw b. Qilij Arslān—may God perpetuate his rule—by the weak slave al-Muẓaffar b. Hibātallāh al-Barūjirdī, who is in need of the mercy of his forgiving Lord—may God forgive him and his parents and all Muslims—in the months of the year 670.[56]

[55] Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: cat. 110. The foundation inscription (*RCEA*, no. 4643) gives the name of Barūjirdī's grandfather as 'Abdallāh. This might be an indication of the recent conversion of the family to Islam, since "Ibn 'Abdallāh" was often employed as a patronymic by converts to Islam: Schimmel, *Islamic Names*: 8.

[56] My translation, after *RCEA*, no. 4642. Arabic text (after *RCEA*, no. 4642 and my photographs of the inscription): "(1) banā hādhihi 'l-madrasa 'l-mubāraka fī ayyām dawla 'l-sulṭān 'l- a'ẓam Ghiyāth al-dunyā wa-l-dīn Abī 'l-Fatḥ Kaykhusraw bin Qilij Arslan, khallada 'llāhu mulkahū 'l-'abd 'l-ḍa'īf (2)'l-muḥtāj ilā raḥma rabbihī 'l-ghafūr al-Muẓaffar bin Hibāt-allāh al-Burujirdī ghafara 'llāhu lahū wa-li-wālidayhi wa-li-jamī' 'l-muslimīn fī shuhūr sana saba'īna wa-sittamā'ia."

2.10 Buruciye Medrese, Sivas, dislocated medallions from *waqf* inscription, author's photograph

The same text is repeated on eight medallions located in the spandrels of the arches that form arcades along the two long sides of the courtyard.[57] This and other inscriptions in the interior of the building do not provide any more detailed information about the patron's life, yet a short passage from the building's *waqfiya* carved onto the monument, also on medallions, gives some insight into his intentions in founding the madrasa.

Today, these medallions (Figure 2.10) are no longer in their original position, but have been placed instead in niches in the two lateral walls of the main *īwān*, with the addition of a fourth one, on which the script has deteriorated beyond legibility.[58] Unfortunately, the original location of these medallions is no longer clear. It is possible that they were moved quite some time ago, perhaps in the early twentieth century.[59] The combined text of all these medallions reads as follows:

> And the founder stipulated one *mudarris*, three preceptors, thirty scholars of Islamic law, four reciters of the Qur'an, one *imām*, a muezzin, and a treasurer for the treasury of books; the village of Iskī in the region of Īlbiklu is part of what the founder—may God have mercy with him—endowed to this blessed madrasa.[60]

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[57] *RCEA*, no. 4643.

[58] An architectural survey of the building does not mention these relocated elements: Mahmut Akok, "Sivas'da Buruciye Medresesinin Rölövesi," *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* XV.2 (1966): 5–38.

[59] The images of the medallions in van Berchem and Halil Edhem (Eldem) *MCIA* (pl. XLII, no. 20) are photographs of squeezes of three medallions. This poses the question of whether Halil Edhem and van Berchem climbed up a scaffold in order to take these squeezes or whether, conversely, the blocs were already displaced from their original location at the time.

[60] "[1] wa-sharaṭa 'l-wāqif mudarrisan wāḥidan wa-thalāthan mina 'l-mu'ayyidīn wa-thalāthīn (center) mina 'l-fuqahā' [2] wa- arba'a mina 'l-ḥuffāẓ wa-imāman wāḥidan wa-mu'adhdhinan wa-khāzinan li-khizāna (center) 'l-kutub [3] min jumla mā waqafa 'l-wāqif raḥimahū 'llāh 'alā hādhihi

This inscription gives a small glimpse of the founder's investment in this *madrasa*, and of how he intended for it to be staffed and maintained day by day. In this complex, in which both the inscriptions and of course the mausoleum integrated into the madrasa are meant to preserve the founder's memory, the *waqf* inscription thus serves as yet another means to evoke piety and remembrance.[61] With his addition of the mausoleum, Hibātallāh al-Barūjirdī ensured that the foundation would be connected with his name and, presumably, that the *imām* and *ḥuffāẓ* attached to the madrasa would read prayers in his memory.[62]

The Buruciye Medrese, located near the Çifte Minareli Medrese, does not give the same towering impression as its neighbor because it lacks the tall brick minarets that make the latter stand out against the sky. The portal façade, however, boasts carefully and intricately carved decorations, including floral and geometric motifs surrounding the *muqarnas* calotte located above the doorway.[63] Medallions and large fleshy floral motifs stand out from the otherwise flatly carved low relief. The effect is similar to that of the façade of the Çifte Minareli Medrese. On both sides of the portal section, a fragmentary band runs just below the cornice, tying the portal block to the façade, though not quite as delicately as the band of decoration on the Çifte Minareli Medrese does. Upon closer inspection, the content of this beautifully carved inscription reveals itself to be religious rather than historical in nature. It was first published by Max van Berchem and Halil Edhem in 1917, and was already too poorly preserved then to be completely legible.[64] It appears that the text, which is not a passage from the Qur'an, is best identified as a prayer. It translates as follows:

> In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. Throughout, hope has deceived me, and love of the world has destroyed me [...] the deceivers (?) Oh, most merciful of the merciful [...] divine. Indeed my place is the place of those who seek refuge, and of those who ask permission to [access] the glory of your splendor, the worlds of your power have increased [....] I asked that you be merciful.[65]

Through a vaulted entrance *īwān* with a shallow dome, the portal opens onto a small courtyard (Figure 2.11). Opposite the entrance, another *īwān* closes off the courtyard to the east. Arcades run along the sides of the building, from the portal to the east *īwān*. There is a smaller *īwān* in the middle of both the north and south sides of the building, which is also apparent from the wider span and slightly higher apex of the central arch on each side.

'l-madrasa 'l-mubāraka qariya Iskī (center) min nāḥiya Ilbiklū." My transliteration and translation after Rıdvan Nâfiz (Edgüer) and İsmail Hakkı (Uzunçarşılı), *Sivas şehri:* 112.

[61] The connection between architecture, inscriptions, and commemoration of the deceased was a frequent pattern, also seen, for example, in Ayyubid Syria and Egypt in the first half of the thirteenth century: Korn, *Ayyubidische Architektur,* vol. 1: 168–70. Similarly, a commemoration of the founder was included in detail in the *vaqf-nāme* of the Ilkhanid vizier Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb, dated 716/1316: Birgitt Hoffmann, *Waqf im mongolischen Iran—Rašīduddīns Sorge um Nachruhm und Seelenheil*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2000: 123.

[62] Blessing, "Allegiance, Praise and Space": 436–7.

[63] Gabriel, *Monuments turcs*, vol. 2: pl. XLVIII.

[64] van Berchem and Halil Edhem (Eldem), *MCIA:* 31.

[65] My translation, after the reading in van Berchem and Halil Edhem (Eldem), *MCIA:* 31.

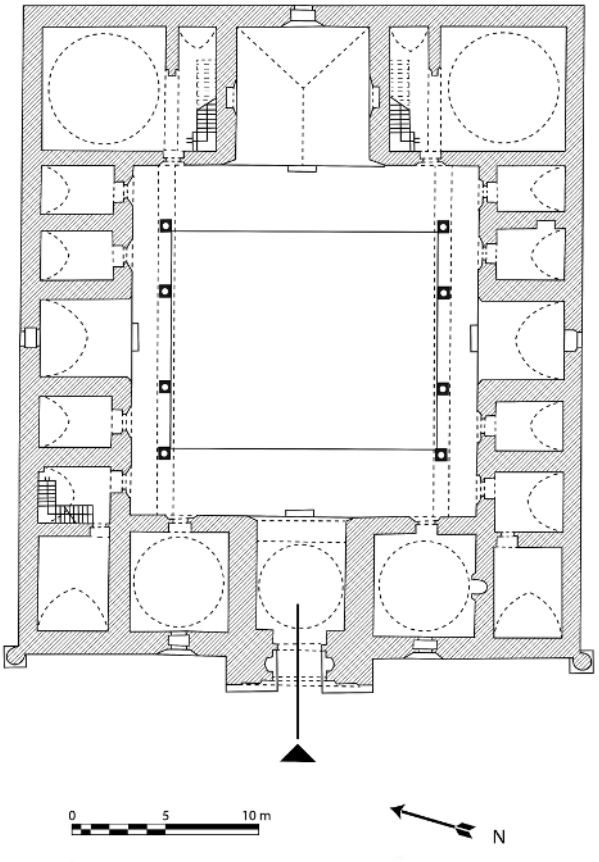
2.11 Buruciye Medrese, Sivas, view of courtyard, author's photograph

The interior of the Buruciye Medrese is related to other, roughly contemporary examples, such as the Gök Medrese in Tokat, an undated monument that was probably built between 1260 and 1280.[66] While the carved decorations of the Buruciye Medrese are essentially a local product of Sivas, intrinsically connected to the nearby Çifte Minareli Medrese and to earlier monuments in Divriği, parallels to its structure and tile decoration can be found across a wider region. Both the Buruciye Medrese and Gök Medrese in Tokat use a similar arrangement of arcades, composed of spolia (columns and capitals) that run towards a larger *īwān*. Both buildings are based on a four-*īwān* plan (Figure 2.12), though in Tokat a second story was built above the arcades, providing an upper level gallery with access to rooms for students. (In the Buruciye Medrese, similar structures may have been located in annex buildings that have not been preserved.)

In the Buruciye Medrese, lateral chambers to the right and left of the portal served, respectively, as the mosque and founder's mausoleum.[67] In the Gök Medrese in Tokat, a mausoleum containing several anonymous burials is located in the corner to the right of the main west *īwān*. The mosque is located in a chamber to the left of this same *īwān.*

[66] Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2, cat. 115; Numan and Aksulu, "Tokat Gök Medrese Darü's-Sülehası'nın Restitüsyonu"; Kuran, *Anadolu Medreseleri:* 96–9.

[67] Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: 447. The mausoleum has been preserved, but the mosque now serves as the kitchen for the café in the building.



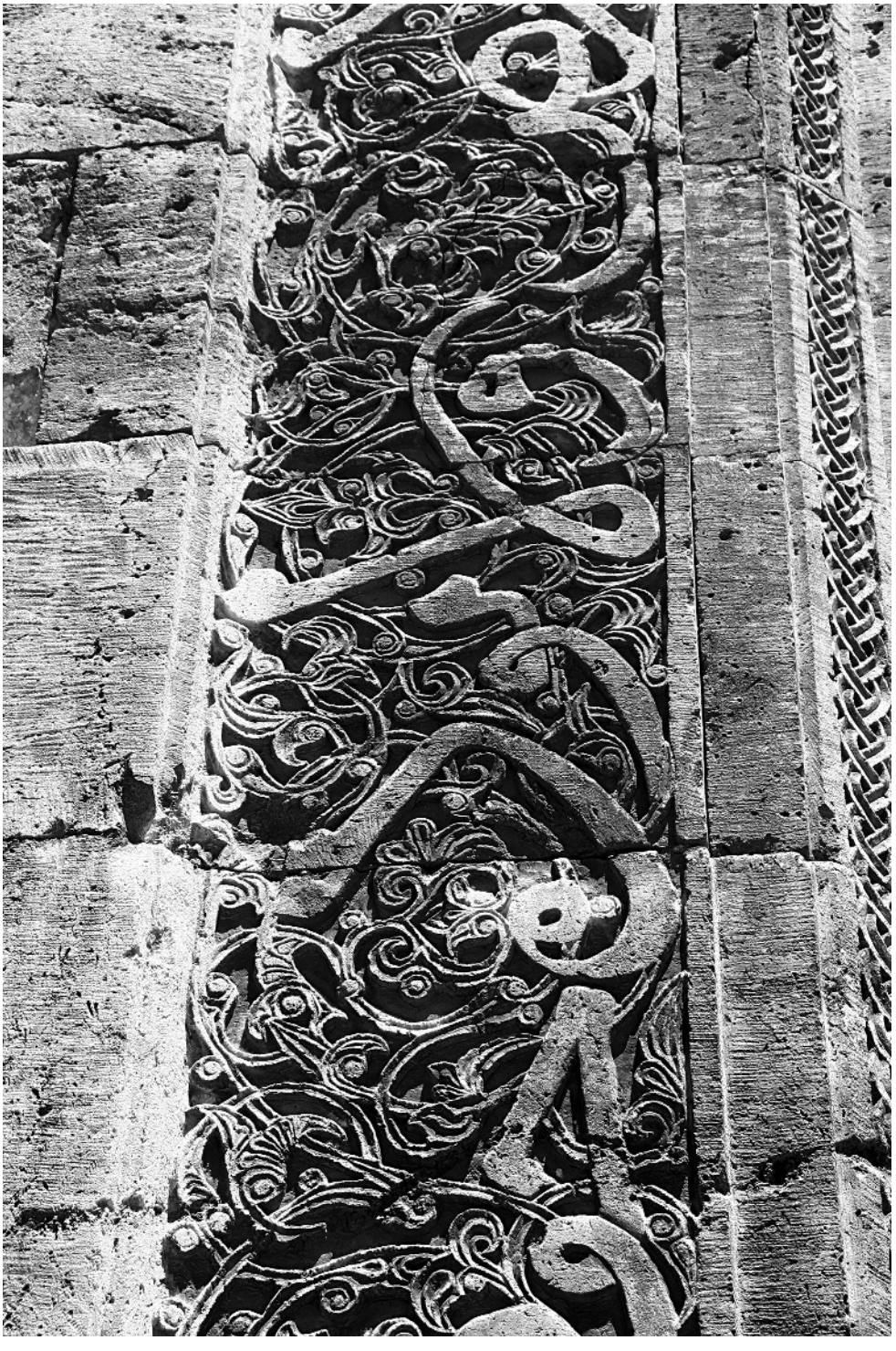
2.12 Buruciye Medrese, Sivas, plan, redrawn after Kuran, *Anadolu Medreseleri*, Fig. 49 and Sözen, *Anadolu Medreseleri*, vol. 1, Fig. 9. Drawing by Deniz Coşkun

In Tokat, a Qur'anic inscription (Plate 5), composed of tile mosaic in nearly black manganese purple, turquoise, and dark blue, accompanied by a geometric and floral background decoration, runs around the frame of the *īwān*.[68] In the Buruciye Medrese, all the decorations on the *īwān* are carved in stone (Figure 2.13).

The use of tiles is limited to the interior of the mausoleum chamber, where an inscription runs around the square base of the dome, and a row of small *muqarnas* cells covered in blue and black tile follows above it. The inscription is written in black cursive script on a background of turquoise scrolls and white surface.[69] It refers

[68] Qur'an II: 255, the so-called Throne Verse, a very common passage in monumental inscriptions.

[69] "[Basmalah] ilāhī laisa lī 'amalun ataqarrabu bihi ilayka wa lā ḥasana adullu bihā 'alayka 'an faqrī wa fāqatī wa dhullī wa waḥdatī fa-irḥam ghurbatī wa kun unaysī fī ḥufratī fa-qad iltaja'atu ilayka wa tawakkaltu 'alayka wa-anta akrama 'l-akramīna wa-arḥama 'l-rāḥimīna [Qur'an, LXVI: 8; LX: 4] hādhihi turba 'l-'abd 'l-ḍa'īf 'l-gharīb 'l-waḥīd al-Muẓaffar bin Hibātallāh al-Mufaḍḍalī al-Barūjirdī ghafara 'llāh lahū wa-li-wālidayhi wa-li-jamī' 'l-muslimīn wa-arzaqahū 'l-jannata wa-l-sa'āda fī 'l-ākhira ānasa 'llāhu waḥdatahū wa-raḥima ghurbatahū fa-man ghayyara qurbatī wa-baddala ḥufratī fa-anta khaṣmuhū wa 'alayhi ghadb 'llāh wa-l-malā'ika wa-l-nās 'l-ajma'īn." *RCEA*, no. 4650.



2.13 Buruciye Medrese, Sivas, inscription on main *īwān*, author's photograph

to the burial of the founder, invoking God's forgiveness and charity upon him.[70] The squinches in the corners are covered with a geometric pattern of turquoise bands and black stars. At the center of each side of the square, a pointed arched panel was also decorated with similar patterns, but none of these examples is well preserved. Fragments of tile are apparent throughout the brick dome. Below the inscription, the walls are covered with hexagonal turquoise tiles and whitewashed in those places where the tiles have not been preserved. The three cenotaphs in the mausoleum are covered with cloth, which hides their decorations.

The carving on the front of the main *īwān* (Figure 2.14) of the Buruciye Medrese is even more intricate than the one above the portal (Figure 2.15).

A decoration composed of floral and geometric motifs, arranged in two closely connected yet visually separate layers, extends over the spandrel between the arch and the top edge of the center of the façade. The inscription that frames the *īwān* almost disappears against the background of palmettes and scrolls, and seems to merge with the decoration of the spandrels. From the latter, semi-spheres protrude that are also decorated, but the motifs are difficult to distinguish due to the poorly preserved stone.[71] A further Qur'anic inscription in cursive script on a background with a few palmettes runs along the three walls of the main *īwān*, just below the level from which the vault springs.

In some ways, the Buruciye Medrese is a Çifte Minareli Medrese *en miniature* without the minarets, at least in terms of façade decoration.[72] The hierarchy of the madrasas' respective patrons plays an important role here: while the patron of the Çifte Minareli Medrese was one of the viziers of the Ilkhanids, the patron of the Buruciye Medrese was probably a lesser official, connected either to the Seljuks or to the Ilkhanids, but in any case subordinate to the latter dynasty. As a result, even if he was able to hire the same workshops once the Çifte Minareli Medrese was completed, Barūjirdī would not have had the same financial resources, nor would he have been allowed to commission a monument that might equal, let alone surpass, Juwaynī's madrasa. In this way, the different places in the hierarchy between the patrons, reflected in what they were able to accomplish, intersected with the differences in what the various workshops achieved.

The design concepts used on both façades are similar: flat low relief from which large fleshy floral motifs arise in prominent spots, such as over the apex of an arch.

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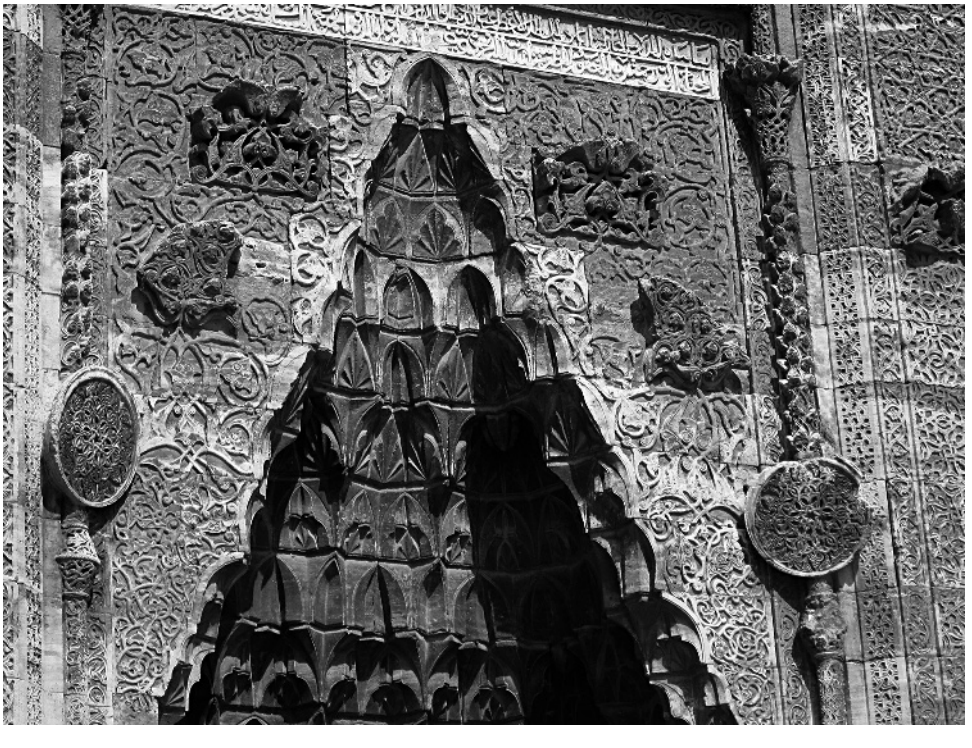
[70] "[Basmalah] My God, I do not have a course of action to approach you, nor a good deed to show to you other than my poverty, neediness, lowliness, and loneliness. Relieve my exile and be my close friend in my grave. I have taken refuge with you and relied on you, you are the most noble of benefactors (parts of Qur'an, LXVI, 8; LX, 4). This is the mausoleum of the weak, estranged, and lonely slave, al-Muẓaffar bin Hibātallāh al-Mufaḍḍalī al-Barūjirdī, may God forgive him and his parents and all Muslims, and may He bless him with paradise and felicity in the afterlife. May God keep him company in his solitude and may He have mercy on his tomb. Whoever changes my tomb and alters my burial is His opponent, and may the wrath of God, the angels, and all people fall upon him." My translation, after *RCEA*, no. 4650.

[71] The inscription shows the same verse (II: 225) seen in the Gök Medrese. N. Burhan Bilget, *Sivas'ta Buruciye Medresesi*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1991: 35–41 provides some of the building's inscriptions, but not the ones on the main *īwān*.

[72] Erdmann, *Tagebücher*, XII: 1156 makes a similar observation, suggesting that workmen of similar training but lesser skill than those constructing the Çifte Minareli Medrese worked on the Buruciye Medrese.

2.14 Buruciye Medrese, Sivas, detail of stone carving on main *īwān*, author's photograph



2.15 Buruciye Medrese, Sivas, detail of portal, author's photograph

In the Buruciye Medrese, a total of seven highly plastic motifs emerge from the flat background carving: four in the spandrels between the *muqarnas* hood and the beginning of the rectangular frames that enclose the portal, and three within the broadest of these frames. In addition to these motifs, two medallions with geometric decoration jut out from the bases of engaged colonnettes that form the top part of the innermost molding around the doorway and *muqarnas*. The composition is even more striking than the façade of the Çifte Minareli Medrese, possibly because it is not dominated by tall minarets that divert the viewer's attention.

Divriği: the local context of two monuments in Sivas

Within the local context of Sivas, the Great Mosque and Hospital in the nearby town of Divriği, built in 626/ 1228–29, offer insight into stylistic connections to other parts of Anatolia and, as some scholars have argued, even to Iran.[73] In this complex, motifs partly originating in Iranian stucco decoration were translated into stone for the first time, an adaptation facilitated by the region's soft limestone. While it is uncertain how the motifs were transmitted from Iran, they are clearly part of the same vocabulary used in Iranian stucco examples, such as the *qibla* wall of the Great Mosque in Ardistān, decorated in 553–55/ 1158–60.[74] At the same time, it has been demonstrated that Iran probably was not the sole model and direct source for these motifs, which also appear in Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Ahlat in southeastern Anatolia as early as the twelfth century.[75]

In the first half of the thirteenth century, Divriği was the center of the Mengücekids, a local Turkic dynasty that weathered both the Seljuk move towards centralization in the 1220s and the Mongol conquest.[76] The ruler of the Mengücekids, Husām al-Dīn Aḥmadshāh b. Sulaymānshāh, and Tūrān Malik, often assumed to be the ruler's wife, founded the mosque-and-hospital complex in 626/ 1228–29.[77] The complex is notable for the decoration of its three portals, carved into the region's soft yellowish limestone: the portals are surrounded by plastic vegetal motifs, with leaves sculpted almost three dimensionally, that jut out from the façade. Both the portal on the north side of the mosque and the portal of the hospital display oversized and highly plastic leaves and vegetal scrolls (Figures 2.16, 2.17, 2.18).[78]

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[73] For the history of the building, see: Yolanda Crowe, "Divrigi—Problems of geography, history and geometry," in: William Watson (ed.) *The Art of Iran and Anatolia from the 11th to the 13th Century A.D.*, Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia No. 4, London: University of London—School of Oriental and African Studies, 1974: 27–39; Pancaroğlu, "The Mosque-Hospital Complex at Divriği"; Doğan Kuban, *Divriği Mucizesi—Selçuklular Çağında İslam Bezeme Sanatı Üzerine Bir Deneme*, Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999.

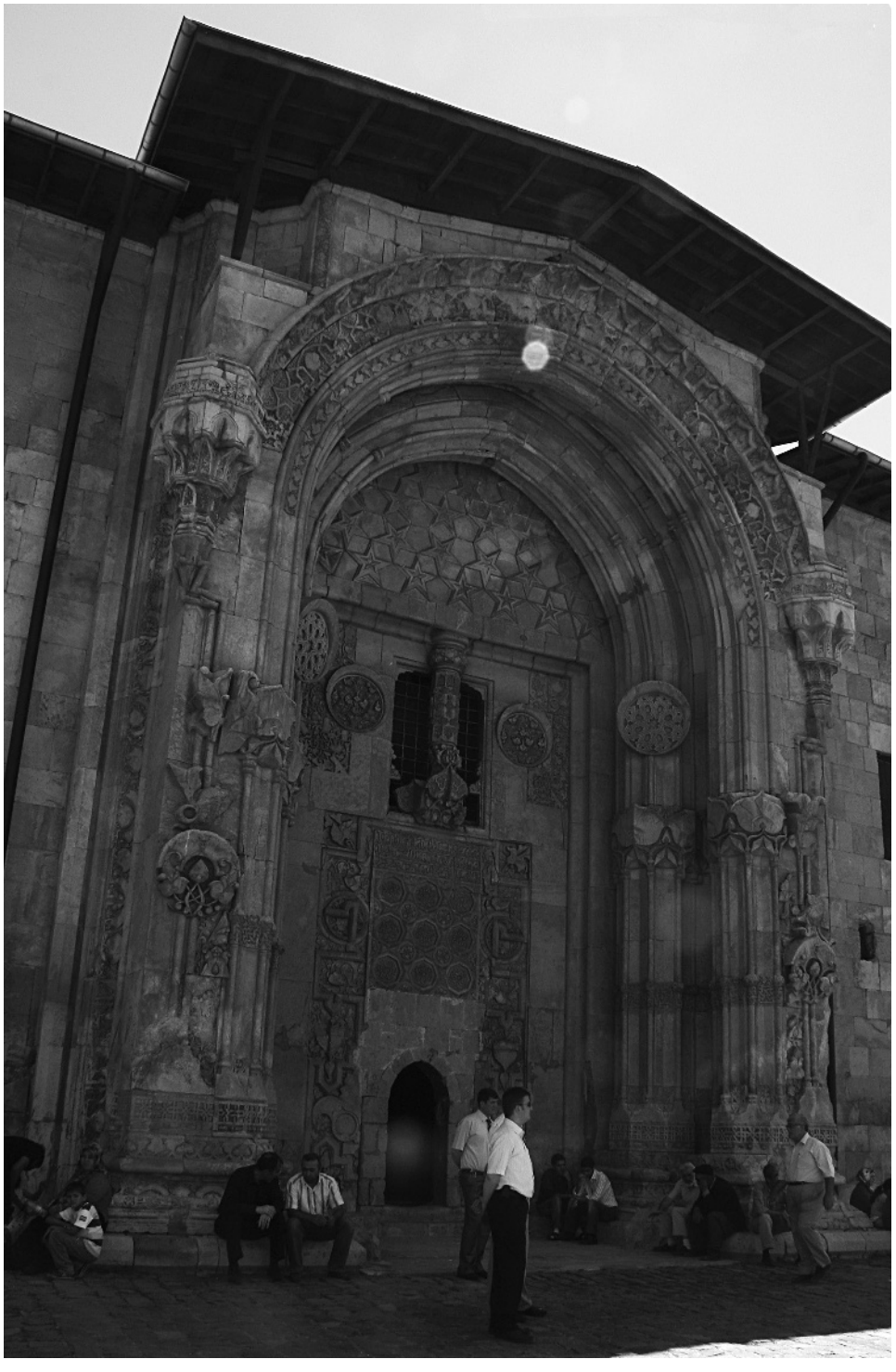
[74] André Godard, "Ardistān et Zavāreh," *Athār-é Īrān* 1(1936): 285–309.

[75] Pancaroğlu, "The Mosque-Hospital Complex at Divriği": 184–8.

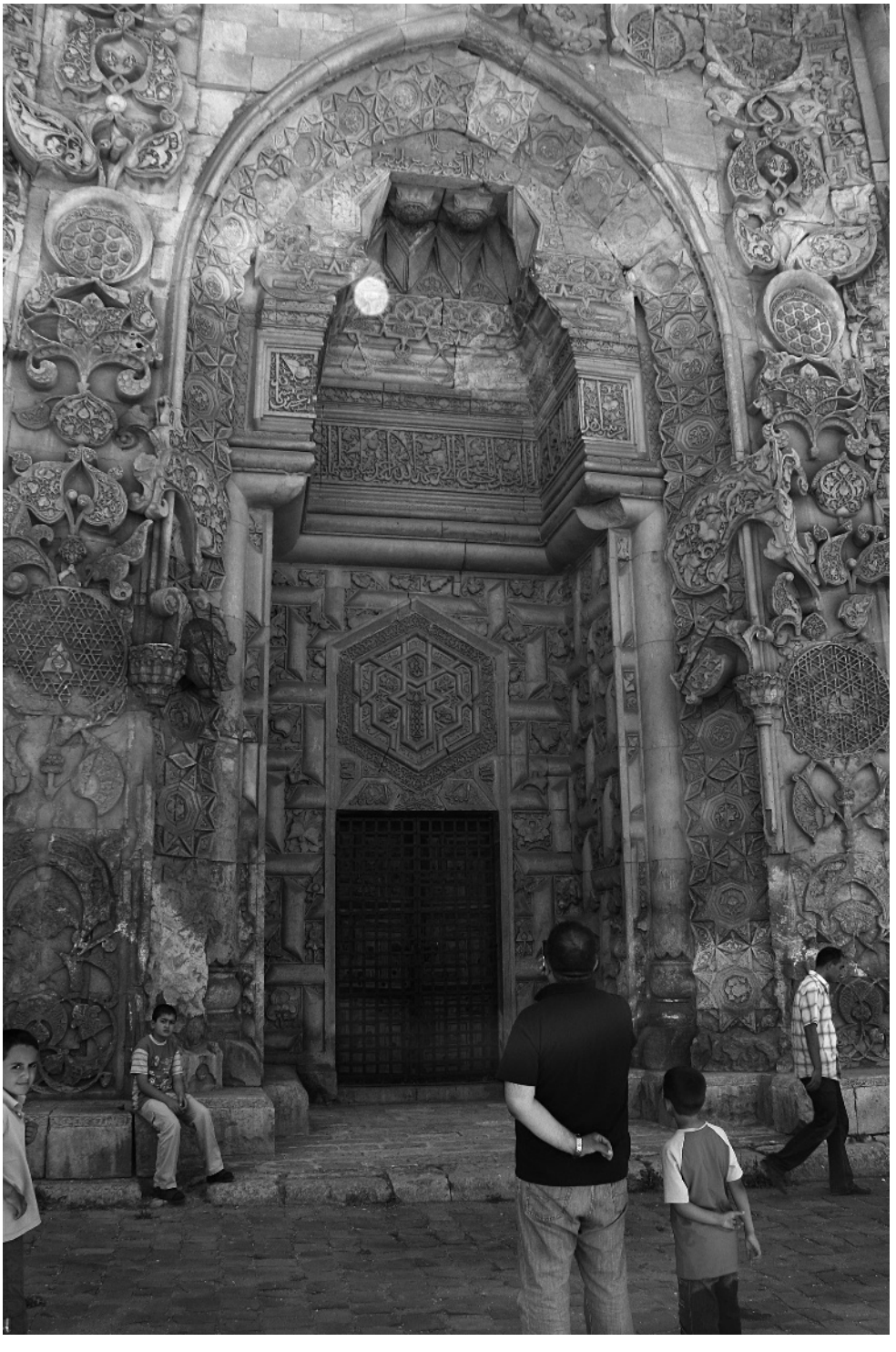
[76] Pancaroğlu, "The Mosque-Hospital Complex at Divriği": 183–4.

[77] Pancaroğlu discusses how the inscriptions do not explicitly refer to Tūrān Malik as the wife of the Mengücekid ruler: Pancaroğlu, "The Mosque-Hospital Complex at Divriği": 172–3.

[78] The western portal of the mosque is a later, undated reconstruction, possibly incorporating stones from the original section of this façade that had collapsed: Pancaroğlu, "The Mosque-Hospital Complex at Divriği": 170.



2.16 Great Mosque and Hospital, Divriği, portal of hospital, author's photograph



2.17 Great Mosque and Hospital, Divriği, north portal of mosque, author's photograph

2.18 Great Mosque and Hospital, Divriği, north portal of mosque, detail, author's photograph

Considering the quality of the stone carving and the use of highly plastic motifs, it is tempting to see a connection between these portals in Divriği and the monuments of Sivas, even if it is not a direct one. The 40 years that separate the two projects raise questions regarding the transmission and continuity of specialized knowledge within a specific region, city, or workshop. While these issues cannot be resolved here, clearly there were mechanisms in place that allowed motifs manifested in stone in Divriği to continue to be used, or to reemerge, in Sivas—on a different scale, yet nevertheless harking back to even earlier stucco versions in Iran.

It has been argued that the decorations of the Buruciye Medrese and Çifte Minareli Medrese in Sivas were derived from those of the building complex in Divriği through the direct transmission of a workshop tradition.[79] However, it is necessary to qualify this connection. The use of glazed tiles and brickwork is a major difference between the Great Mosque in Divriği and the later monuments in Sivas and Erzurum. While no tiles at all were used in Divriği, the monuments in Sivas and Erzurum achieved a new form of hybridity unprecedented in eastern Anatolia.[80] In this sense, both Divriği and Sivas are situated in the context of a larger local tradition, rather than being the fruits of a single workshop that developed over time.[81] This caveat is further reinforced visually through close observation of the decoration on all three buildings. It is true that the plastic elements on the façades of the Çifte Minareli Medrese and Buruciye Medrese evoke the portals of Divriği, so much so in fact that Kurt Erdmann referred to them as "*Divrikblüten*" (Divriği flowers);[82] however, while

[79] Rogers, "Patronage": Chapter 2.

[80] I thank Professor Gülru Necipoğlu for this suggestion.

[81] In the context of trans-regional connections, it may be relevant to point out the existence of what appear to be preparatory sketches carved into stone, which have a similar shape in Divriği and Ani: Ömür Bakırer, "The Story of Three Graffiti," *Muqarnas* 16 (1999): 42–69.

[82] Erdmann, *Tagebücher*, vol. XII: 1178, 1184.

this is certainly a compelling analogy, Erdmann was careful to limit it to the highly plastic elements that appear in much smaller numbers in Sivas than in Divriği, and are combined here with more flatly carved geometric and floral patterns.

Apart from these salient flowers and leaves, in particular those on the band high above the doorway of the portal of the Çifte Minareli Medrese, the portals in Sivas respond to a different aesthetic sensibility. Even the flowers themselves, as evocative of Divriği as they are, produce an entirely different effect here: rather than forming an overwhelming maze of plastic forms, the alternation between flat and plastic elements accentuates the emerging forms. In terms of aesthetic sensibilities, Divriği represents the full-fledged expression of a certain mode of decoration and an unmatched display of skill. In Sivas, some of the same principles are used, in particular the skillful inclusion of large and highly plastic motifs that jut out from the façade even as they remain safely in place. Yet the placement of these motifs points to a change in aesthetic understanding or tastes. They are no longer the dominant feature used throughout the portal as they were in Divriği. The almost organic appearance of decorations that seem to grow out of the surface of the monument, which is what was so striking in Divriği, is no longer apparent in Sivas. Instead, the motifs are now part of a decorative scheme that plays with high plasticity—including various levels of relief, down to motifs that appear to be etched into the stone—and with floral and geometric motifs and inscriptions executed in these different ways. The aesthetic mode appears to have shifted to a more detailed, deliberate accentuation of individual motifs and their strategic placement for maximum visual effect. This interplay between flat surfaces and sculptural bodies is very subtle, to the point that changes in motifs on a single surface are often nearly imperceptible without careful attention. In contrast, the plastic motifs are placed very deliberately in places where they—and the skill of the masters who carved them—would be sure to attract maximum attention.

These subtly different levels of relief are absent in Divriği, where the decoration impresses with its plasticity and volume, but does not rely on the alternation of high and low relief to tease the viewer's eye. Something had clearly changed in the tastes of the times, which would have guided both the patrons' demands and how workmen conceived a building. The decoration in Divriği, and by extension that of the monuments in Sivas, has been connected to fourteenth-century stucco decoration in Iran, which in turn has its roots in examples going back as far as the twelfth century.[83] The connections between the motifs are indeed compelling, especially as regards the shapes of the leaves of the palmettes, as well as some of the internal decorations on the leaves, which are filled with small geometric patterns cut deeply into the stone.

It is up for debate whether the connection to Iran can be attributed to renewed direct channels of communication in the aftermath of the Mongol conquest, or is

[83] One of Rogers's fourteenth-century examples, the Gunbad-i 'Alawiyān in Ḥamadan, has been convincingly placed in the context of the late twelfth century: Raya Shani, *A Monumental Manifestation of the Shi'ite Faith in Late Twelfth-Century Iran: The Case of the Gunbad-i 'Alawiyan, Hamadan*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. The connection to Iran is also referred to in: Doğan Kuban, *Selçuklu Çağında Anadolu Sanatı*, Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınlari, 2002: 123.

instead the result of various independent instances of local transmission in eastern Anatolia over the first half of the thirteenth century. Oya Pancaroğlu has argued for a connection to the region of Ahlat in southeastern Anatolia, with its tradition of stone carving, preserved most notably in funerary steles. The signature of Khurramshāh b. Mughīth al-Khilāṭī (from Ahlat), which appears in the interior of the monument in Divriği, does indeed provide evidence of such a connection. The stone-carving tradition of overlapping floral motifs, which can be seen on the tomb steles in the Muslim cemeteries of Ahlat dating from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, could have made its way to Divriği through the work of Khurramshāh. This transmission would have occurred through the use of paper models, which could then be applied to any medium, rather than as a direct adaptation from stucco to stone.[84]

However, this does not necessarily exclude the possibility of a connection between Divriği and Sivas. Rather, the existence of a local tradition combined with drawings imported from other parts of Anatolia, and even from Iran and Armenia, is an example of the multiple connections between neighboring regions, which only increased under Mongol rule and made new levels of hybridity possible. Connections to Iranian stuccowork are also visible in the Çifte Minareli Medrese and Buruciye Medrese in Sivas, even if some of the design principles are different. While some of the same leaf shapes from the former tradition are present in the latter monuments, it is the use of scrolls and palmettes in both that is particularly similar, especially where the various decorative systems are used in an overlapping manner, intertwined with each other to some degree yet still easy to distinguish. This intermingling of motifs that nevertheless remain distinct resembles stucco examples in Iran, a parallel that raises the question of how these motifs were transmitted and adapted. It is difficult to assess precisely how these motifs made the transition from one material to another since, even within Iran, the formation of and connections between workshops can only be explained on the basis of an obviously modern evaluation of stylistic similarities.[85] Rogers suggests that the distribution of the decorations on the portals of Divriği does not correspond to either Anatolian Seljuk or Iranian models.[86] This conclusion is difficult to evaluate. However, I think it more useful to consider that the motifs from Divriği had become part of the regional vocabulary by the time they were used in Sivas, and thus were part of a flexible repertoire rather than the product of a specific, continuous workshop tradition. The latter would also have included technical aspects, such as the use of units of measurement that have been found to be comparable in medieval Anatolia and Armenia.[87] I argue that, on closer observation of the monuments with seemingly very similar decoration, a different aesthetic approach becomes apparent.

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[84] Pancaroğlu, "The Mosque-Hospital Complex at Divriği": 184–8.

[85] For the region of Kashan in Iran, where several examples of stucco decoration from the eleventh and twelfth centuries survive, see Raya Shani, "On the Stylistic Idiosyncrasies of a Saljuq Stucco Workshop from the Region of Kashan," *Iran* 27 (1989): 67–74.

[86] Rogers, "Patronage": 136.

[87] Sharon Laor-Sirak, "The Role of Armenians in Eastern Anatolian Muslim Architecture (1071–1300)," PhD dissertation, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2008 (in Hebrew with English summary): 173–4. I thank Mika Natif for providing me with an outline of the argument.

In visual terms, the details of the decoration of the monuments in Sivas call to mind Iranian stuccowork of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. This is particularly evident in the fleshy vegetal motifs that project from the façade at intervals, and from the way in which several ornamental systems are overlaid to form a single system, without however getting lost in each other. Comparable forms of stucco decoration were employed in Ilkhanid Iran into the fourteenth century, for example at the mausoleum of Pīr-i Bakrān near Isfahan, built between 698/ 1299 and 712/ 1312.[88] A similar way of using decorative systems is apparent on the buttresses of the Çifte Minareli Medrese and, even more obviously, on the façade of the Buruciye Medrese. Consequently, the question of where the workmen involved in the latter projects came from and were trained is pertinent. The architecture points to local labor in terms of the quality of the stone construction and carving, and to Iranian influences in terms of the decorative motifs employed. Ultimately, the origin of this influence—whether through migrating craftsmen, or the transmission of (hypothetical) drawings or portable objects—is virtually impossible to ascertain in the absence of written sources concerning the matter.[89]

The Gök Medrese

The Gök Medrese (Figure 2.19) stands outside the Inner Citadel, in part of the city that used to be at the foot of the Upper Citadel.[90] The *waqfiya* of the foundation describes dependencies of the madrasa within the city, including a *dār al-ḍiyāfa* (possibly a guesthouse or banquet hall) that stood next to it.[91] This might correspond to the lodge-like structure Wolper mentions in her description of the urban context of the madrasa, indicating that there were accommodations for travelers nearby.[92] There are no records of changes to the Gök Medrese during the Middle Ages and

[88] Ernst J. Grube, "Ilkhānid stucco decoration: notes on the stucco decoration of Pīr-i Bakrān," in: Gianroberto Scarcia (ed.) *Isfahan*, Quaderni del Seminario di Iranistica, Uralo-altaistica e Caucasologia dell'Università degli Studi di Venezia, vol. 10, Venice: La Tipografica, 1981: 87–9.

[89] While no drawings from this period have been preserved, the fifteenth-century Topkapı Scroll, which contains complex drawings probably used as models for construction, suggests that an earlier such tradition existed: Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture: Topkapı Palace Museum Library MS H. 1956*, Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities 1995: 3–6.

[90] Regarding a partial excavation of the citadel mound, see: Tahsin Özgüç, "Die Ausgrabung von Topraktepe, der Burg von Sivas (unternommen im Auftrage des Türk Tarih Kurumu und des Gouvernements Sivas)," in: *Halil Edhem hâtira kitabı*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1947, vol. 1: 227–33.

[91] VGM 604–67–90, l. 40.

[92] Wolper, *Cities and Saints:* 61. Wolper refers to a dervish lodge, supposedly located near the madrasa and described by Ibn Battuta, without citing the exact passage in the source. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's mention of a *dār al-siyāda* seems to be the closest thing to the type of structure Wolper describes. However, the text does not associate this structure with the Gök Medrese: "There is there [in Sīwās] a fine building which is called Dār al-Siyāda. No person lodges in it except *sharīf*s whose *naqīb* lives in it." Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels of Ibn Battuta, A.D. 1325–1354*, ed. B.R. Sanguinetti and C. Defrémery, tr. H.A.R. Gibb: 434–5. The Arabic text contains two additional words that might have incited Wolper to make the association with the Gök Medrese: "[...] wa bi-hā dārun mithla 'l-madrasa [like the madrasa] tusammī dār 'l-siyāda la-yanziluhā illā 'l-shurafā'." (Italics mine.) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, ed. and tr. C. Defréméry et B.R. Sanguinetti, vol. 2: 289.

2.19 Gök Medrese, Sivas, view, author's photograph

early modern period, yet the many restorations it underwent in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries alone are enough to indicate that the madrasa looks very different from what it once did.

The first recorded restoration to the building dates to 1239/ 1823–24, as stated in an inscription on the east *īwān*.[93] The inscription was inserted into the back wall of the courtyard, which had been reassembled from loose architectural elements taken from the building. The text of the inscription, written in Arabic on plaques of white marble reads as follows: *"(1) Sayyid 'Abdallāh, the muftī and teacher, ordered and restored (2) indeed (he) built [the madrasa] again, unadulterated and [illegible]; [his achievement] is due to God (3) on the first of Ramaḍān in the year 1239."*[94] This was the first of a long series of restorations undertaken in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[95] The most recent restoration, under the direction of the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, began in

[93] Rogers, "The Çifte Minare Medrese": 67; van Berchem and Halil Edhem, *MCIA*, 23; Ferit (Uğur) and M. Mesut (Koman), *Selçuk veziri Sahip Ata ile oğullarının hayat ve eserleri,* Istanbul: Türkiye Matbaası, 1934: 116.

[94] "(1) wa la-qad 'amara wa-rammama 'l-sayyid 'Abdallāh 'l-muftī 'l-mudarris (2) ka-innahū banāhā thāniyan fa-li-llāh darrahū khālişan [illegible] (3) fī ghurra Ramaḍān sana tis'a wa thalathūn wa-alf." My transliteration and translation, after Rıdvan Nâfiz (Edgüer) and İsmail Hakkı (Uzunçarşılı), *Sivas şehri:* 120.

[95] Rıdvan Nâfiz (Edgüer) and İsmail Hakkı (Uzunçarşılı), *Sivas şehri:* 120; Orhan Cezmi Tuncer, *Anadolu Selçuklu Mimarisi ve Moğollar*, Ankara: O.C. Tuncer, 1986: 14–18; Orhan Cezmi Tuncer, *Sivas Gök Medrese (Sahip Ata Fahrettin Ali Medresesi)*, Ankara: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 2008; Yegân Kâhya et al. "Sivas Gökmedrese üzerine yeni bir değerlendirme," in: Osman Eravşar and

2006 and was still in progress at my last visit to the site.[96] The archaeological work done between 1995 and 2000 has been published in a review article, which shows interesting finds (including glazed ceramics), as well as recording damage to the building from earthquakes.[97] Overall, because the monument today has been altered so significantly, historical photographs and descriptions are invaluable for assessing its architecture.

The patron of the Gök Medrese was Sāḥib ʻAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī (d. 684/ 1285) whose patronage in Konya I discussed in Chapter 1. His powerful political role, as one of the rivals of Muʻīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne*, whom he survived by several years, is reflected in most extensive architectural patronage. Unlike al-Barūjirdī and Juwaynī, he is known as a prolific patron in Anatolia: Sāḥib ʻAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī was responsible for several foundations, mostly in Konya, Kayseri, and their environs.[98] The Gök Medrese is his only foundation in the eastern part of Anatolia, inviting speculation regarding what motivated him to endow a madrasa in Sivas the same year that a high-ranking Ilkhanid rival and another patron possibly affiliated with the new overlords of the Seljuks did. The inscription on the portal follows a similar protocol to that on the portal of the Buruciye Medrese, naming both the patron and the Seljuk sultan:

> The foundation of this blessed madrasa was ordered in the days of the rule of the greatest sultan, the great king of kings, Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn Kaykhusraw b. Qilij Arslān, may God extend his rule, by the great statesman, the exalted minister, the father of good deeds, pious deeds, and benefaction, Fakhr al-Dawla wa-l-Dīn ʻAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, may God ease his demise, on the first of Muḥarram in the year 670.[99]

In this context, it may be significant that two inscriptions on the Gök Medrese—one on the portal, the other in the interior—state a more precise date than is given by the inscriptions in the Çifte Minareli Medrese and Buruciye Medrese, naming the month of Muḥarram 670 (9 August to 5 September 1271). It is possible that the patron of the Gök Medrese, unable to build on the more prestigious site within the city's interior walls due to his connection with the Seljuk sultan, pushed to get his project completed sooner. Moreover, this inscription, like Juwaynī's, omits the name of the Seljuk sultan and includes extensive titles to emphasize the patron's power; at the same time, however, its location inside the madrasa rather than on the portal makes it a more subdued statement than that on the Çifte Minareli Medrese:

Haşim Karpuz (eds) *I. Uluslararası Selçuklu Kültür ve Medeniyeti Kongresi: Bildiriler*, Konya: Selçuklu Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2001, vol. 1: 442–5.

[96] Author's observation, Sivas, July 2010. According to recent newspaper reports from Sivas, the re-conception and completion of the restoration is still pending: "Gök Medrese'ye Yakın Koruma," *Sivas İrade*, 31 March 2014, http://www.sivasirade.com/haber/gok-medreseye-yakin-koruma/4158/, accessed 28 May 2014.

[97] Kâhya et al., "Sivas Gökmedrese üzerine yeni bir değerlendirme," Fig. 8 and 445–6.

[98] Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: 307; Ferit (Uğur) and M. Mesut (Koman,) *Selçuk veziri Sahip Ata.*

[99] (1) Amara bi-inshāʼ hādhihi ʼl-madrasa ʼl-mubāraka fī ayyām ʼl-dawla ʼl-sulṭān ʼl-aʻẓam ʼl-shāhanshā ʼl-muʻaẓẓam Ghiyāth al-dunyā wa-l-dīn bin Qilij Arslān khallada ʼllāh dawlatahu ʼl-ṣāḥib ʼl-aʻẓam ʼl-dustūr ʼl- muʻaẓẓam abū l-khayrāt wa-l-ṭāʻāt wa ʼl-ḥasanāt Fakhr al-dawla wa-l-dīn ʻAlī b. ʻl-Ḥusayn aḥsana ʼllāhu ʻāqabatahū fī ghurra muḥarram sanata sabaʻīn wa-sittamāʼia." *RCEA*, no. 4640.

> The foundation of this blessed madrasa was ordered, in order to get closer to God, by the great statesman, the exalted minister, the master of the masters of the Arabs and Persians [...] the traces of generosity, the stability of the victorious empire, the order of the flourishing community, father of good deeds, pious deeds, and benefactions, Fakhr al-Dawla wa-l-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, may God ease his demise, on the first of Muḥarram in the year 670 (9 August 1271).[100]

The extensive titles included in this inscription and the absence of the sultan's name exalt the founder just as much as the architecture itself does, with its extensive use of marble and tile, in addition to limestone and brick. The composition of the façade is similar to that of the Çifte Minareli Medrese, except that in the Gök Medrese the portal projects from the façade. Following the familiar scheme, rectangular frames run around the portal. The outermost frame is decorated with a geometric motif of intersecting stars. It extends to both sides: on one side, it divides the blue tile panels below the minarets, and on the other, the moldings that form decorative shapes on the lower two thirds of each side of the façade. In an attempt to tie together the façade and main portal block, the same frame extends around the outer corner and ends at the juncture of the portal and façade wall.

On the inside of this frame are three more frames decorated with different vegetal motifs, which recede step by step towards the *muqarnas* hood. In the top part, an inscription is placed within the series of frames, just above the *muqarnas* hood; the latter hangs under a segmental blind arch. An inscription runs along the inside of this arch, springing from the capitals of the corner colonnettes. Between this inscription and the doorway, at the level of the latter, there is a vegetal band. The bottom part of the inscription lies inside the portal niche, closing off the *muqarnas* field, which recedes towards the level of the doorway.

The doorway, a four-centered arch, is composed of stones cut to join in a seesaw pattern. Animal heads springing from scrolls are carved into the stones situated at the base of the arches (Figure 2.20).[101] These figures have been identified as the animals of the Chinese calendar, and are thus thought to represent the zodiac.[102] Parallels to these animal heads enveloped in a scroll pattern can be found in Ilkhanid paintings from Iran, which display a masterful ability to depict animals. A miniature from the *Great Mongol Shāhnāme*, painted in Tabriz ca. 1330–40, shows Iskandar beneath the talking *waqwaq* tree (Plate 8). The heads of rabbits and birds emerge from the tree's

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[100] (1) Amara bi-inshā' hādhihi 'l-madrasa 'l-mubāraka taqarruban ilā 'llāh ta'ālā 'l-ṣāḥib 'l-a'ẓam 'l-dustūr 'l-mu'aẓẓam mawlā mawālī 'l-'ar[ab wa-l-'ajam... one word missing] rusūm al-karam (?) (2) qawwām 'l-dawla 'l-qāhira wa-niẓām 'l-milla 'l-zāhira abū 'l-khayrāt wa-l-ṭā'āt wa-l-ḥasanāt Fakhr al-dawla wa-l-dīn ʿAlī bin al-Ḥusayn aḥsana 'llāhu 'āqabatahū fī ghurra muḥarram sanata saba'īn wa-sittamā'ia." *RCEA*, no. 4641; Rogers, "Patronage": 167–8.

[101] There are depictions of nine different animals to the right of the doorway.

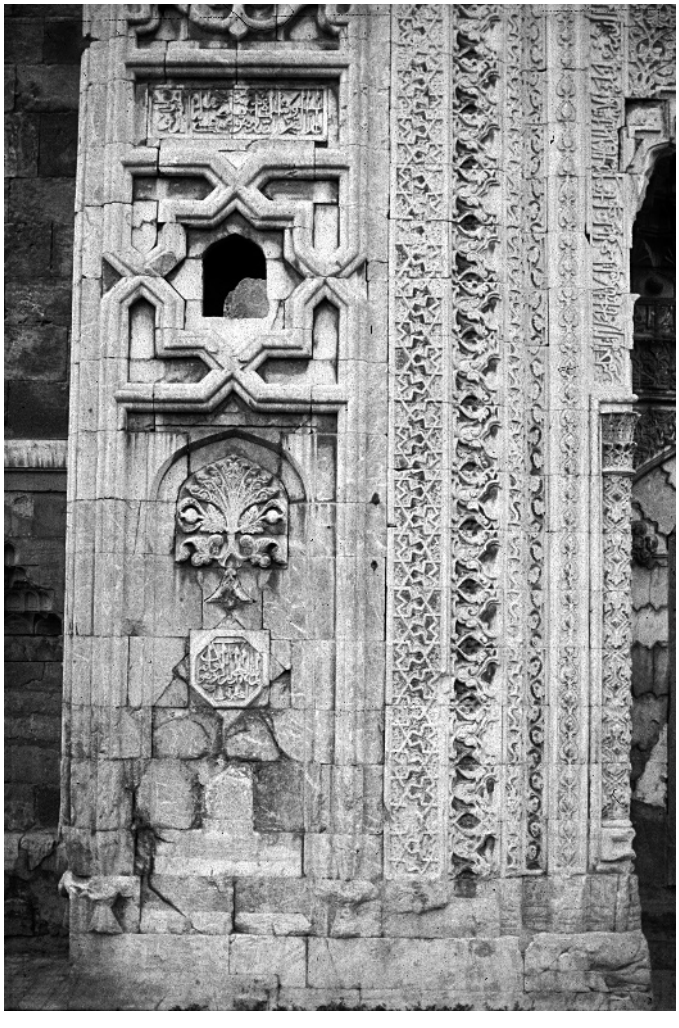
[102] Ernst Diez, "The Zodiac Relief at the Portal of the Gök Medrese in Sivas," *Artibus Asiae* 12.1/2 (1949): 100–03; Katharina Otto-Dorn, "Darstellungen des Turco-Chinesischen Tierzyklus in der islamischen Kunst," in: Oktay Aslanapa (ed.) *In Memoriam Ernst Diez—Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Asiens*, Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1963, 131–65; Joachim Gierlichs, *Mittelalterliche Tierreliefs in Anatolien und Nordmesopotamien—Untersuchungen zur figürlichen Baudekoration der Seldschuken, Artuqiden und ihrer Nachfolger bis ins 15. Jahrhundert*, Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, 1996, cat. no. 21: 172–4. For the Chinese-Uighur animal calendar and its use in the Islamic world see: Charles Melville, "The Chinese-Uighur Animal Calendar in Persian Historiography of the Mongol Period," *Iran* 32 (1994): 83–98.

2.20 Gök Medrese, Sivas, animal figures on portal, right side, photograph by Kurt Erdmann, © Bildarchiv für Islamische Kunst, Universität Bamberg, no. 02147

branches, addressing Iskandar and peeking out from between the leaves in a way that evokes the scrolls in Sivas.[103] A manuscript of Ibn Bakhtīshū's *Manāfi' al-ḥayawān* (*The Use of Animals*), copied and illustrated in Marāgha on the Caspian Sea between 1297–1300, includes a pair of fighting elephants (Plate 9) that resemble the head on the Gök Medrese relief.[104] While these motifs may not be directly connected, they nevertheless point to the broader context of connections between Iran and Anatolia under Mongol rule, and may reflect once again that craftsmen were mobile, and that other means (sketches, for instance) existed by which such designs could travel.

[103] Oleg Grabar and Sheila S. Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: the Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980: 132–3.

[104] Diez rejects de Jerphanion's identification of one of the animals as an elephant and suggests instead that it is a boar: Diez, "The Zodiac Relief": 100. I follow Guillaume de Jerphanion, *Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne. Monuments préhelléniques, gréco-romains, byzantins et musulmans de Pont, de Cappadoce et de Galatie*, Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph XIII, Beirut: Imprimerie catholique, 1928 : 82.



2.21 Gök Medrese, Sivas; marble moldings on portal, left side, photograph by Kurt Erdmann, © Bildarchiv für Islamische Kunst, Universität Bamberg, no. 02149

The overall structure of the portal's decorative scheme is similar to that of the Çifte Minareli Medrese. The use of different motifs within the individual frames, however, and especially the use of two kinds, rather than just one kind of stone, combined with the brick minarets, gives it a distinct aesthetic look. On both sides of the portal frames, thick moldings provide further decoration, running parallel up from the base of the façade to about a third of its height (Figure 2.21). There, they intersect to form first a pointed arch, then an eight-pointed star, and finally a rectangular panel containing inscriptions. The moldings serve as a base for a large plastic vegetal motif at the center of each lateral panel of the portal. There is a medallion with an inscription and palm motif under each of the pointed arches.

The minarets, of course, also recall the Sahib Ata Complex in Konya, commissioned by the same founder and begun in 656/ 1258, whose portal includes the earliest dated example of double minarets in Anatolia, although only one of the minarets

has been preserved. Even though pairs of minarets were used in Seljuk Iran (in the twelfth-century Do Minār Madrasa in Tabas, for example), this feature was not introduced into Anatolia before the Mongol conquest;[105] rather, it seems to have been imported from Iran at a later date, under Mongol rule. The renewed reference to Iran in the architecture of the late thirteenth century, seen in the double minarets on the portal of the Sahib Ata Complex, is even more strongly emphasized in the two madrasas with minaret pairs built in Sivas in 670/ 1271–72, the Çifte Minareli Medrese and Gök Medrese. As we have discussed in Chapter 1, these examples are distinct from the early thirteenth-century connections that the Rūm Seljuk sultans made with their use of Iranian names and tile decoration, on the city walls of Konya for example, or in the palace of Kubādabād, built in the 1220s.

While the Gök Medrese in Sivas includes references to Iran, the connection to Konya is further enhanced through the use of specific motifs: there is a large floral motif on each of the external sides of the portal block, placed at the same level and resembling the one on the front. The elongated field below is decorated with a shallow niche with a decorative rosette at its center and crowned with a pointed arch. A small rectangular niche with an inscription in foliated kufic script rests above the niche. This is framed by a semi-circular molding that develops into a three-pointed leaf topped by a palmette. Like the double minarets, this type of decoration also appears on the portal of the Sahib Ata Complex in Konya, and establishes a strong visual reference to the former Seljuk capital, where Ṣāḥib ʻAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī was still powerful, probably more so than in Sivas. Here, the decoration becomes a reflection of the political stance that the patron is taking, openly challenging the foundation of the Ilkhanid rival, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Juwaynī who commissioned the Çifte Minareli Medrese, in turn competing with the monument that a Seljuk sultan had founded.

In addition to these central motifs, the decoration continues on the lateral sides of the façade much as it does on the Çifte Minareli Medrese. There are *muqarnas* niches on both sides of the portal. The one on the right is more elaborately decorated and pierced by a window. Colonnettes with vegetal capitals support the *muqarnas* hood, which is encompassed by a four-centered arched molding. Above the arch, a panel carries an Arabic inscription in cursive script. There is a round arched window in the middle of this same side of the façade. The niche on the left side of the portal is less elaborately decorated and is poorly preserved. The wall next to it includes a large three-lobed arch with ornamental keystones and two lines of inscription above it. The spandrels between the arch and inscription are filled with intersecting double moldings. Water once sprang from three fountainheads in the wall beneath the arch and flowed into a rectangular basin below, providing clean water to the neighborhood as part of the madrasa's charitable function. The inscription reads:

[105] Jonathan Bloom argues that the three examples in Erzurum and Sivas are the earliest surviving examples of double minarets, but that this feature originated in Seljuk Iran: Jonathan M. Bloom, *Minaret, Symbol of Islam,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989: 179.

> The greatest master, the great law-giver, father of good deeds and good things, pride of the state and religion [ʿAlī] son of al-Ḥusayn, the great notable, ordered the construction of this source during the days of the rule of the greatest sultan, the great king of kings, Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn Abū 'l-Fatḥ Kay[khusraw] bin Qilij Arslan, may God perpetuate his rule.[106]

The ruling sultan is duly mentioned in this text, as is perhaps to be expected from an official who, though under Ilkhanid rule, remained closely connected to the Seljuk court in Konya. We have already seen how, in Konya, the same patron's inscriptions were formulated with much more muted titles. In Sivas, the titles used for the founder convey a stronger impression of his own status and of his repeated activity as a patron and giver of alms.

The façade is closed off on both sides by round corner buttresses placed on square bases. Both buttresses are decorated with vegetal motifs on their lower half and a net pattern on their upper half. The left one reaches to the same height as the *muqarnas* cornice on the façade. On the right side, the buttress must have reached that same height originally, but the cornice and top of the tower have broken off. The decoration of the corner buttresses reveals a strong local influence, suggesting that these motifs had become part of a standard repertoire.[107] The connection to the Çifte Minareli Medrese is most apparent in these elements, placing the Gök Medrese in the local context of Sivas despite its Konya roots, and implying that a local workforce participated in its construction, even if some of the workers were brought from elsewhere. The same fleshy palmette motif, connected with thin scrolls, also appears in a square panel and in a molding that reaches around a rounded corner of the Torumtay Mausoleum in Amasya, a cubic structure on two levels, dated 679/ 1280–81 and located opposite the entrance to that city's own Gök Medrese Mosque.[108] Here, we see that workshops moved from city to city when projects dried up in one location, taking certain models with them, while also adapting the techniques, motifs, and materials available to them in the new location and collaborating with other workshops.

A further element that the Gök Medrese and Çifte Minareli Medrese have in common is the presence of tile decoration on the pair of brick minarets that rise from the stone of the façade. The decoration of both monuments' minarets is closely related, and it has been suggested that it is based on the combination of examples in Konya and the Çifte Minareli Medrese in Erzurum.[109] The major difference in the construction of the two minarets concerns the part of the façade at the base of the minarets. In the Gök Medrese, it is covered with rectangular panels of turquoise tile that reach below the *muqarnas* cornice on both sides of the portal (Figure 2.22).

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[106] "(1) Amara bi-inshā' hādhihi 'l-ʿayn fī ayyām dawla 'l-sulṭān 'l-aʿẓam shāhanshāhi 'l-muʿaẓẓam Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn Abū (sic) 'l-Fatḥ Kay[khusraw] bin Qilij Arslan khallada 'llāhu dawlatahū (2) 'l-ṣāḥib 'l-aʿẓam 'l-dustūr 'l-muʿaẓẓam abū 'l-khayrāt wa 'l-ḥasanāt Fakhr al-Dawla wa-l-D[īn ʿAlī] bin al-Ḥusayn aḥsana 'llāhu ʿawāqibahū." *RCEA*, no. 4647.

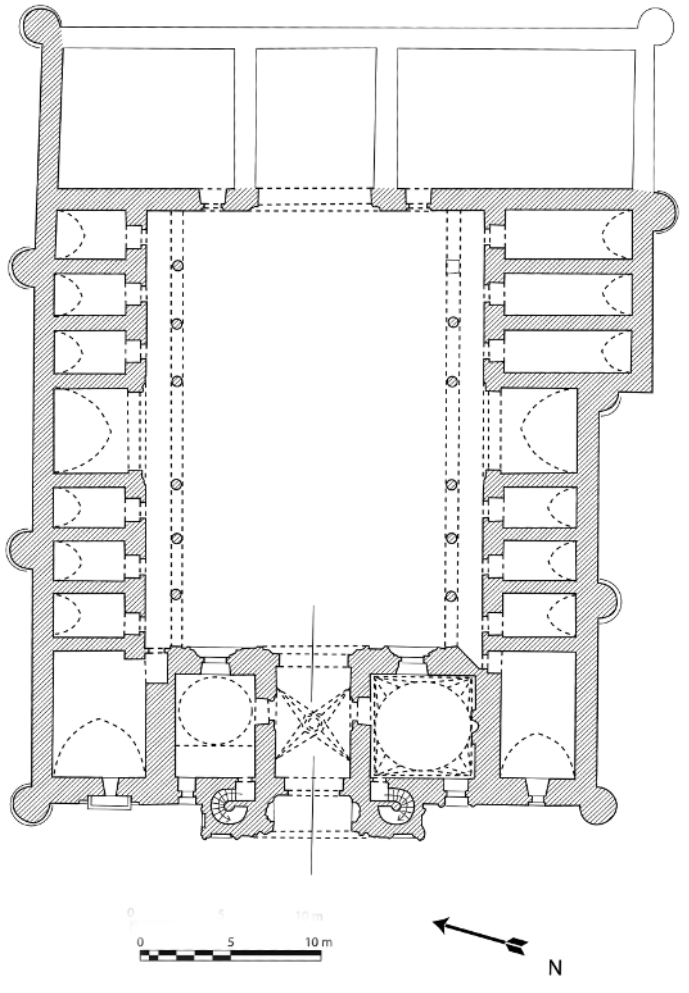
[107] Rogers, "The Çifte Minare Medrese": 69–70.

[108] See Chapter 4, Figure 4.11.

[109] Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: 444, 453.

2.22 Gök Medrese, Sivas, tile fragments on minarets before restoration, photograph by Kurt Erdmann, © Bildarchiv für Islamische Kunst, Universität Bamberg, no. 02148

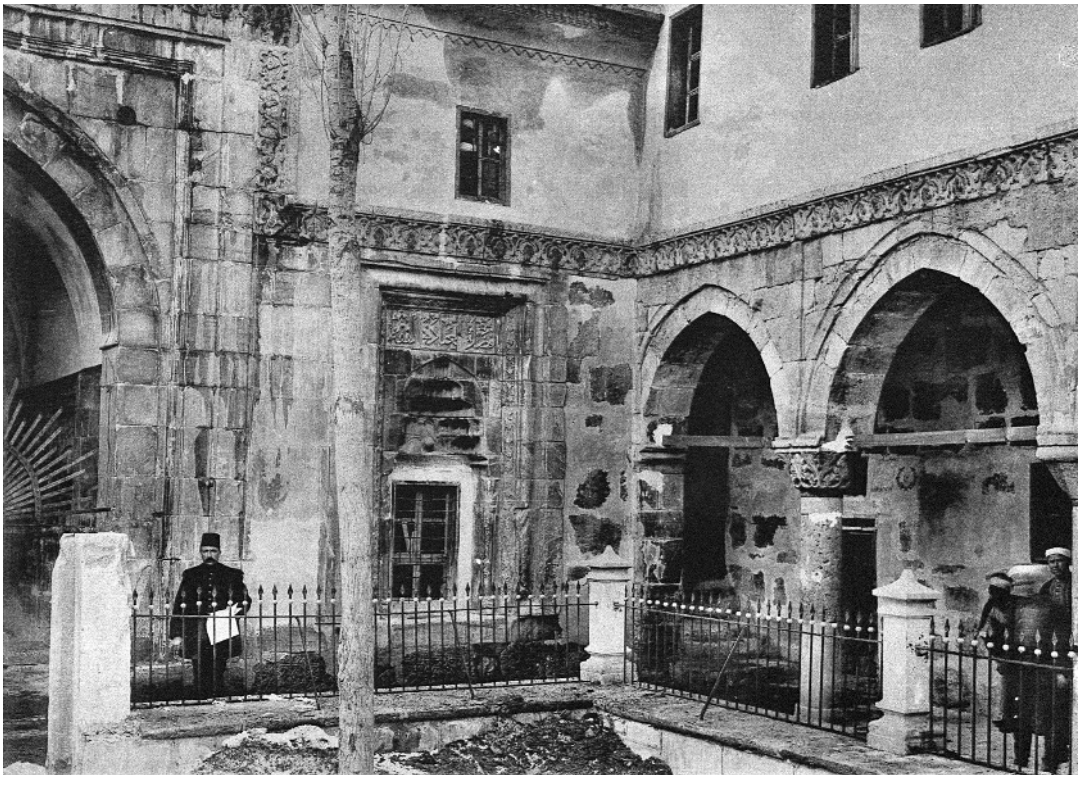
In the Çifte Minareli Medrese, the decoration on this area is in an even more fragmentary state, but it seems that the raised circles of brickwork at the center of a square panel of tile at the base of the minarets, as seen on the Gök Medrese, were present on at least one face of the minaret base as well. The minaret bases are framed with two rows of brick, and there is a circle of the same material on the lower panels. On top of these panels, the minaret bases use corner triangles to make the transition from a square to a round shape. The arched panels between these triangles are decorated with various tile motifs. The minarets are made of brick, and their shafts are decorated with vertical rounded moldings of turquoise tile. On the surface between these, small pieces of glazed brick of various shades of blue form an intersecting rhombus pattern. The shafts end in a band of turquoise tile and *muqarnas* corbels—not entirely identical on both sides—that support a balcony. Above these, only fragments of the shafts decorated with brick patterns have been preserved, topped by modern sheet-metal roofing to protect against the elements.



2.23 Gök Medrese, Sivas, plan, redrawn after Sözen, *Anadolu Medreseleri*, vol.1, Fig. 9 and Kâhya et al., "Sivas Gökmedrese," Fig. 1. Drawing by Deniz Coşkun

The original plan of the Gök Medrese (Figure 2.23) was composed of an open courtyard with four *īwāns*; the main *īwān* at the northern end of the building was destroyed and replaced by a wall composed of rubble from the monument.[110] Based on its appearance, the building clearly seems to have had two stories, but the upper level is no longer extant.[111] The plan and elevation of the structure may have been very similar to the Gök Medrese in Tokat, a two-story monument that has served as a model for suggested reconstructions.[112] In his reconstruction of the plan, Kuran suggests that there were two large rectangular chambers to the left and right of the main *īwān* at the eastern end of the building.[113] As in the Buruciye

[110] Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: 440.
[111] Rogers, "The Çifte Minare Medrese:" 66.
[112] Tuncer, *Sivas Gök Medrese:* 163–4; Kuran, *Anadolu Medreseleri:* 95–6; Sözen, *Anadolu Medreseleri*, vol. 1: 42, 214–18.
[113] Kuran, *Anadolu Medreseleri:* 92–6.



2.24 Gök Medrese, Sivas, partial view of courtyard, van Berchem and Halil Edhem (Eldem), *MCIA*, pl. XXIII

Medrese, there are two domed chambers to the left and right of the portal at the western end of the building; the one to the right of the portal served as a mosque.[114]

Arcades run from the entrance towards the destroyed main *īwān* located at the far end of the building (Figure 2.24). The arches at the center of each side, which double as the fronts of the lateral *īwān*s, are higher and wider than the other arches. The four-*īwān* plan, as typological studies of medieval madrasas in Anatolia have shown, is typical for the region and exists both with an open courtyard, as in the three examples in Sivas, and with a closed courtyard.[115] In this respect, Sivas does not stand out from the patterns seen throughout the region, including in the Seljuk capital of Konya. Instead, as we have seen above, the particularities are manifest more at the level of decoration, which suggests that perhaps the craftsmen were more mobile—or their liberties greater—in a region where centralized patronage was not strong enough to keep them in any given location for an extended period of time. Furthermore, and perhaps more obviously, rather than experimenting and risking the building of unstable structures that might collapse, designs that had proved stable were simply repeated.

[114] Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: 440.

[115] Kuran, *Anadolu Medreseleri* studies the preserved madrasas in chronological order, beginning with the late eleventh century, but grouping them together as monuments with open and covered courtyards, respectively, in each chapter; Sözen, *Anadolu Medreseleri* discusses open-courtyard madrasas in volume 1, and those with a covered courtyard in volume 2.

Unlike in the cases of the Çifte Minareli Medrese, for which no record of the endowment survives, and the Buruciye Medrese, where only fragments are recorded in inscriptions, the full text of the *waqfiya* of the Gök Medrese has been preserved, although only in an early twentieth-century copy in occasionally faulty Arabic.[116] This document, which is the necessary basis for any study of the madrasa's endowment, notes the location of buildings such as a bathhouse and stores associated with the madrasa, as well as the names of villages that provided income for the building's upkeep. Identifying these sites is difficult due to changes in urban structures and place-names over time. The *waqfiya* also notes that the *mudarris*, the professor of Islamic law who taught at the madrasa, could be either Shāfiʿī or Ḥanafī. According to the editors of the *waqfiya,* this stipulation expresses the patron's personal preference.[117] These two schools of law were the most popular ones under Seljuk rule, so the choice is not surprising—nor is the fact that the Ḥanafī school is named first, putting it in a privileged position.[118] In medieval Anatolia, the Ḥanafī and, to a lesser extent, Shāfiʿī schools of law were favored without much competition, so *waqfiya*s concerning medieval Anatolian madrasas only rarely mentioned related stipulations.[119] The *waqfiya* of the Gök Medrese was established on 24 Dhū ʿl-ḥijja 678/24 April 1280, several years after construction was completed. However, *waqfiya*s that postdate their physical structures are not uncommon in medieval Anatolia.[120] As one of the few surviving endowment documents from this period, it is an important example of how such monuments were financially secured for posterity, and of the scale of large foundations with substantial urban and rural property.

Workshops and the construction process

The simultaneous construction of three large-scale monuments raises the question of how workshops were organized, and how many craftsmen were active in Sivas. The presence of at least one master builder or architect is documented. Unlike the two other buildings in Sivas from the same period, the Gök Medrese bears the signature of its architect, Kālūyān al-Qunawī—Kālūyān 'of Konya'.[121] The literature disputes

[116] For images of the document, see: Bayram and Karabacak: 48–51. The copy, dated [1]329/1914, is preserved in the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi in Ankara, VGM 604–67–90. For an assessment of the quality of the copy, see: Bayram and Karabacak: 34–5. For a section of the Arabic text, see: Ferit (Uğur) and M. Mesut (Koman,), *Selçuk veziri Sahip Ata:* 118–19.

[117] Bayram and Karabacak, 56–7. The Arabic text: "wa mu'adhdhinan [?] wa [?] fī 'l-masjidi wa-rajulun wāḥidun yakfahu [?] khāzina 'l-kutub wa-bawwābun wa-farrāshun [servant] wa sharaṭa an yakūna 'l-mudarris shāfiʿī 'l-madhhaba [?] faqīr [?] mustaḥḍar bi [?] aḥkām 'l-sharʿīya ʿalā [?] madhhabihī wa-uṣūl 'l-fiqh wa 'l-khilāf fī mahāra mina 'l-awqāf [?] min jāmiʿ hādhihi 'l-faḍā'il mina 'l-shāfiʿīya yufawwisahu 'l-tadrīs yawma'idhin [?] ilā shakhṣin mina 'l-ḥanafīya [?] mawjud bil- [?] 'l-mashrūṭa fī [...] 'l-mudarris [?] 'l-shāfiʿī thumma idhā aḥḍara ʿālimun shāfiʿīa 'l-madhhabi kamā dhikran [...] afḍalu mina 'l-mudarris 'l-ḥanafī yulā [?] 'l-mudarris wa-yaṣrifu 'l-ḥanafī." VGM 604–67–90: 67, line 43 to p. 68, line 4.

[118] Leiser, "The Madrasah": 178–80.

[119] Bayram and Karabacak: 56–7; Leiser, "The Madrasah": 178–80.

[120] J. Michael Rogers, "Waqf and Patronage in Seljuk Anatolia: the Epigraphic Evidence," *Anatolian Studies* 26 (1976): 70.

[121] Kâhya et al., "Sivas Gökmedrese üzerine yeni bir değerlendirme:" 441; *RCEA*, no. 4646. The signature is located on two cartouches on the inner side walls of the portal, the one to the right

the identification of this signature with one specific person, and the attribution is complicated by the presence of a similar, yet equally obscure, signature on other buildings from the same time.[122] Three buildings endowed by the same patron in Konya bear the signature of an architect by the name of "Kalūk b. 'Abdallāh": the Nalıncı Baba Türbe (c. 1255), Sahib Ata Mosque (656/ 1258), and İnce Minareli Medrese (c. 1265). The signature "Kālūyān al-Qunawī" appears on a bathhouse in Ilgın (between Konya and Akşehir), also built by the same patron, and on the Great Mosque in Bünyan, near Kayseri.[123] It is not clear whether these different signatures, using several variants of Arabic spelling, refer to the same person and, as I have suggested earlier, it may be somewhat problematic to insist on identifying a master builder. Meinecke argues that the Kālūyān in Sivas and the one documented in Konya are not the same person because the Arabic spelling does not point to a clear reading of the name; indeed, the preferred rendering is K.lwk, which only indicates the consonants used.[124] Independently of each other, Brend and Tuncer have suggested that Kālūyān might be an apprentice of Kalūk, who would have been inspired by monuments his master constructed in Konya.[125]

Even if we assume that we are dealing with two different architects, it is significant that Kālūyān al-Qunawī worked for the same patron in other cities, but is not known to have done any other work in Sivas. Taken together with Kalūk b. 'Abdallāh's activity, this shows that Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī had a preference for certain architects, and perhaps their style, and employed them continuously. At the same time, we have seen that workshops local to Sivas clearly were active during the construction of the Gök Medrese, precluding the notion that this preference would have led to exclusive rights to a building site. Moreover, the presence of Kālūyān al-Qunawī in Sivas at his patron's behest shows that workforces could be transferred from other locations, if a patron's tastes demanded and his finances permitted it.

Regarding the marble decorations used on the façade of the Gök Medrese, Rogers suggests that the master learned his craft from a Northern Syrian emigrant in Konya, the city indicated by his *nisba*, al-Qunawī. These marble carvings are indeed unique in Sivas and, as such, are a further indicator of the outside origin of some of the workforce; the connection to the portal of the Sahib Ata Complex in Konya, which has a very similar motif carved in marble, is especially strong. Of course this does not mean that all workers came to Sivas specifically for the project; it is possible that

reading "'amal al-ustādh" [work of the master], the one to the left "Kālūyān al-Qūnawī," Bilget, *Gök Medrese*, Figs. 1 and 2. The corresponding captions are switched.

122 For a discussion of the literature on the subject up to 1974, see Brend, "The patronage of Faḫr al-Din 'Ali:" 160–62.

123 Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: 308; on the mosque in Kayseri, see: Sadi Dilaver, "Bünyan Ulu Camii—Erbaa/Akçaköy (Fidi) Silahdar Ömer Paşa Camii," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 1–2 (1966–68): 184–94 and Fig. 10. For the signature, see: Tuncer, "Mimar Kölük ve Kalûyân:" 109.

124 Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen,* vol. 2: 308 discusses all the earlier suggestions to identify Kalūk with Kālūyān, but himself argues against them; Rogers admits that he does not wish to discuss the identity of this second master since the monuments he signed—if we are in fact speaking of one person in all three cases—do not give any indication beyond the "culmination of the always eclectic tendencies of Central Anatolian Seljuk decoration." Rogers, "Patronage:" 447. In an earlier article, Rogers seems to consider Kālūyān and K.lwk/Kalūk as being the same person, though he is more inclined to see them as local variants of the same name that might refer to two different masters. Rogers, "The Çifte Minare Medrese:" 80–81.

125 Brend, "The patronage of Faḫr al-Din 'Ali:" 162–5; Tuncer, "Mimar Kölük:" 110–11.

some of the stonemasons, as well as the men who carried out heavy manual labor, were locals. This likelihood is reflected, for instance, in the close resemblance of the corner buttresses of the Çifte Minareli Medrese and Gök Medrese.[126]

The pair of minarets over the portals, a feature also seen in the Sahib Ata Complex in Konya, has been linked to the tastes of its patron, who used marble here to create a version of Seljuk portal patterns that points to his own patronage rather than to that of the Seljuk sultan.[127] This fits in well with Yıldız's suggestion that the Seljuk *amīr*s were very independent and carved out their own areas of influence, becoming a force the Ilkhanids had trouble controlling.[128] At the same time, it suggests the inadequacy of seeing these portals as examples of a single "Seljuk" royal style; rather, they may be a phenomenon specific to the late thirteenth century. Though unresolved questions remain, the observations made in Sivas show that the notion of a unified "Seljuk" style does not hold at the local—let alone broader regional—level. A similar phenomenon has been observed in the Muslim principalities of northern India in the twelfth century, where different styles of diverse origins coexisted in a given place.[129] In that region, Muslim and non-Muslim cultures, each with their own architectural styles and habits, intersected in a context fraught with political conflict, creating an environment full of tension and competition not unlike that of thirteenth-century Anatolia.

As previously mentioned, the simultaneous construction of three large *madrasa*s in the same city invites questions about the workforce involved. The number of workers needed on each construction site is not known, but must have been considerable. Unfortunately, knowledge of medieval construction processes in the Muslim Middle East is limited. Sources rarely indicate the number of workmen involved or the duration of construction—except in extreme cases that elicited disapproving—and possibly exaggerated—remarks regarding expenses and forced labor. Similar problems beset Byzantine and Armenian architectural history.[130] Rare drawings etched in stone or included in mathematical treatises may give an indication of how *muqarnas* vaults were constructed; however, these drawings may merely reflect the theory at the other extreme end of the spectrum from the actual practice of building.[131]

The same Iranian stucco motifs traveled much further than just to Anatolia: from the late eleventh century onwards they also appear in Egypt, still in stucco and never in stone.[132] These Cairene examples may have been the result of traveling craftsmen arriving in new locations with limited resources, or of local adaptations

[126] Rogers, "Patronage:" 166–7, 445–7.
[127] Wolper, "Portal Patterns:" 69.
[128] Yıldız, "Mongol Rule in thirteenth-century Seljuk Anatolia:" 597–602.
[129] Flood, *Objects of Translation:* 225.
[130] Robert G. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, second edition, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006; Laor-Sirak, "The Role of Armenians in Eastern Anatolian Muslim Architecture (1071–1300)."
[131] Yvonne Dold-Samplonius and Silvia L. Harmsen, "The Muqarnas Plate found at Takht-i Sulayman: a new Interpretation," *Muqarnas* 22 (2005): 85–94; Arman Ghazarian and Robert Ousterhout, "A Muqarnas Drawing from Thirteenth-Century Armenia and the Use of Architectural Drawings during the Middle Ages," *Muqarnas 18* (2001): 141–54; Bakirer, "The Story of Three Graffiti."
[132] Lorenz Korn, "Iranian style 'out of place'? Some Egyptian and Syrian stuccos in the 5th–6th/11th–12th centuries," *Annales Islamologiques* 37 (2003): 237–60.

of drawn models on a smaller scale. In any event, regardless of how exactly these motifs were transmitted to Egypt, they continued to be rendered in stucco there. Thus, the Anatolian adaptation of these motifs into stone—and to a lesser extent woodwork—is a phenomenon specific to this region and point in time. While the existing networks and modes of transmission were not limited to this period and place, the forms they resulted in were contingent on the specific materials and types of patronage available then and there.

The patrons

Understanding the relationship between the two patrons of the Çifte Minareli Medrese and Buruciye Medrese would help tremendously to explain why one building took precedence over the other. The inscriptions on the two structures do not offer any insight in this respect: both were built in 670/1271–72, but the month in which construction began is not given.[133] In certain ways, however, the architecture of the two buildings itself may reflect the hierarchical distance between the two patrons, with Juwaynī commissioning the more impressive madrasa, and Barūjirdī aspiring to a similar aesthetic. The architecture also points to the possibility that the same workmen were employed on both construction sites.

Beyond a comparison of the two buildings, the relationship between their patrons also opens the question of style and power in medieval Anatolia. In much of the existing literature about them, the portals of both madrasas have been considered entirely Seljuk in style, their architecture expressing political competition and statements of sovereignty. In this sense, style could mark political intention—as in the case of Juwaynī, who imported Iranian elements such as double minarets and tile decoration in order to establish a physical connection to the center of the Ilkhanid realm, thereby emphasizing the political ties that bound Anatolia to this region at the time. However, the use of such elements was not limited to patrons directly connected to the Ilkhanids. Thus, while Barūjirdī may also have had such a connection, the foundation inscription on his building mentions the Seljuk sultan, even as tile decoration reminiscent of Iran adorns the interior of the patron's mausoleum.

While style could thus indicate the general bent of a patron's political intentions, the public also relied on inscriptions to understand his motivation—the foundation inscriptions stating the patron's names and overlords, the dates of construction, and religious texts. Reading these inscriptions directly, of course, requires literacy in and knowledge of Arabic, in addition to some knowledge of the conventions of epigraphy and—for the passages of religious texts—of the Qur'an and *hadīth*. Yet the impact of oral transmission was considerable, so the inhabitants of Sivas were doubtless aware that both Ilkhanid and Seljuk patrons had built in their city, even several generations after construction was completed. This issue is pertinent in the context of the complexity of thirteenth-century Anatolia, where, as early as the

[133] *RCEA*, no. 4642, no. 4643, no. 4644.

eleventh century, two major competing dynasties, several ethnic groups with their respective languages, and at least two major religions were present. Still, the use of certain stylistic elements is no more exclusively the premise of artistic agency than inscriptions are the only place where patrons can state their political and territorial intentions. Rather, there was a complex system of negotiation in place, which combined imported and local elements: this is reflected both in the craftsmen's skill in using certain materials (especially stone) and in the patrons' intention to display political affiliations through the use of certain architectural features (such as tile and double minarets).

We have seen that the Buruciye Medrese and Çifte Minareli Medrese speak to each other, as well as to the Şifaiye Medrese, creating an intimate dialogue within the enclosed area of the Inner Citadel that is rich with references to each other and to buildings in the wider region. The third madrasa, the Gök Medrese, however, responds to the local dynamics in a different way. This difference begins with its location—a bit further away from the center, though very close to the citadel hill and not far from the Great Mosque of Sivas, an early thirteenth-century Danishmendid foundation—and continues with the details of its decoration and inscription program.

By including the name of the ruling Seljuk sultan, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw III (r. 662–82/ 1264–83), the patron of the Buruciye Medrese acknowledged a higher authority that had effectively become defunct at the time. He was following the standard protocol of foundation inscriptions. In contrast, in Juwaynī's case, the text makes a statement of sovereignty—though probably with the patron serving as a proxy for the Ilkhanids, rather than in his own name. A similarly ambitious inscription appears on the Gök Medrese, though its patron, Ṣāḥib ʿAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī, was careful to have it placed in the courtyard rather than in plain view on the building's exterior. This inscription, unlike the more muted ones on the portal and fountain, praises the founder as: "the great statesman, the exalted minister, the master of the masters of the Arabs and Persians [...] the traces of generosity, the stability of the victorious empire, the order of the flourishing community."[134] Even though these titles do not correspond exactly to those of the Seljuk sultans, they evoke principles of upholding rule and order that demonstrate the vizier's power.

Juwaynī's use of royal titles on the façade defies all the rules of epigraphic protocol in Seljuk Anatolia. Rather than hiding this ambitious inscription in the courtyard of the building, as Ṣāḥib ʿAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī did in the Gök Medrese, Juwaynī displayed it on the façade.[135] Perhaps this was an indication that he did not have anything to fear in doing so—certainly not from the largely powerless Seljuk sultans, and not even from the Ilkhanid ruler, since his interest in Anatolia and in controlling the elite's local affairs was probably quite marginal before 675/ 1277. Moreover, it is perhaps quite natural that Ilkhanid rulers were not named in foundation inscriptions in Anatolia before Ghāzān Khān (r.694–703/ 1295–1304) converted to Islam just before ascending to the Ilkhanate.

[134] *RCEA,* no. 4641; Rogers, "Patronage:" 167–8.
[135] Rogers, "Patronage:" 242.

Conclusion

Based on the examination of the three madrasas in Sivas in this chapter, I draw several preliminary conclusions about the impact of Ilkhanid rule on architecture in Anatolia. First, the three buildings, although constructed in the same year and in the same city, are stylistically diverse in certain respects, pointing to a local tradition that was open to the creative application of old and new motifs. Second, the Buruciye Medrese and Çifte Minareli Medrese are rather closely related to each other, and firmly rooted in the local tradition of the region of Sivas. In the Çifte Minareli Medrese we have seen traces of Iranian influence, attributed to the origin of its patron, the Ilkhanid official Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Juwaynī, which were integrated with local forms of architecture. Third, the Gök Medrese displays elements rooted in the monuments that its patron, Ṣāḥib ʿAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī, sponsored in Konya, while also retaining references to the local tradition of Sivas in the details of its decoration (the pattern on the corner buttresses, for example). Thus, we may suggest that the patron marked the city with his own style—or rather, that the architect he preferred for many of his commissions continued to work with the same elements he usually used—the impact of local workmen on the building's overall appearance is notable.

With the addition of the Mongol presence, beginning in the 1240s, the picture became even more complicated. At the time of the construction of the madrasas in Sivas, the Ilkhanid rulers had not yet converted to Islam; some of them were Shamanists, some Christians, others Buddhists. At the same time, the majority of the administrative elite of Iran's Mongol rulers, the Ilkhanids, were Persian-speaking Muslims—the Juwaynīs among them. It was only when Ghāzān Khān converted at the end of the thirteenth century that Islam became more central to the Ilkhanid rulers, and their names began to appear in foundation inscriptions. Seen in this context, Juwaynī's omission of a mention of a sovereign in the inscription of the Çifte Minareli Medrese was probably a show of disdain for the powerless Seljuk sultan; and, in the absence of an alternative reference to a ruler, the patron was able to give his own name prominence.

The style used for the Çifte Minareli Medrese can be interpreted in two ways: on the one hand, it reflects a local Sivas style, pointing to the involvement of craftsmen familiar with the materials and conditions of this city; on the other, it is distinct from the Gök Medrese, a monument built by a high-ranking Seljuk patron, possibly pointing to a political adaptation of this style. The latter interpretation, however, is complicated by the presence of the Buruciye Medrese: even though it is stylistically quite similar to the Çifte Minareli Medrese, its patron named the Seljuk sultan in the foundation inscription. Once again, it is likely that the style of the monuments was primarily the result of the agency of their craftsmen and architects, while the inscriptions revealed political aims that were reflected only subtly in the architecture.

Any comparison to monuments in Iran, however, suffers from a lack of surviving monuments in that region, and Ilkhanid patronage before the early fourteenth century was rare, or poorly documented in any event.[136] The cross-regional context Anatolia was part of, which spanned the eastern Mediterranean to Central Asia,

[136] See the catalog in: Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran*.

is essential to an understanding of certain features. The plastic floral motifs, including the scrolls, palmettes, and fleshy leaves that appear so prominently in Sivas are rooted in the local context through their presence in the Mosque and Hospital at Divriği.

While late twelfth-century and early thirteenth-century Seljuk monuments in Anatolia reveal a preference for geometric motifs, after 1250 the emphasis shifted toward the increasing use of complex vegetal scroll patterns. This change is especially pronounced in Sivas, where the Çifte Minareli Medrese and Buruciye Medrese are richly decorated with variations on such motifs. On the earlier Şifaiye Medrese, on the other hand, the portal is adorned with geometric bands, and the façade of the mausoleum is decorated with geometric patterns of tile and brick.

The vegetal motifs used in the later monuments in Sivas come in a range of sizes, from tiny palmette leaves framing an inscription to large leaves jutting out from the portal façade. This emphasis on plasticity is a unique feature that is present only in Sivas and has been connected to the stunning stonework of the Great Mosque and Hospital in nearby Divriği, built in 626/ 1228–29. This building is in itself unique, and the possible survival of its workshop over several generations until the construction projects in Sivas began in 670/ 1271–72 has been a tacit assumption in many studies of the region.

The persistence over time of elements that may be connected to Iran has often led to assumptions about long lines of workshop practices passed on entirely through oral transmission. Beyond reconstructions based on very close observation of the decorations themselves, in the absence of written sources, the possible use of drawings should also be considered.[137] The discovery of the Topkapı Scroll and its subsequent study by Gülru Necipoğlu provide a compelling basis for the suggestion that such models for architecture and its decoration existed even before this fifteenth-century scroll.[138] It is certainly possible that there were earlier examples of drawings of this kind.

The existence of such drawings would certainly make it easier to explain the transmission of motifs from Iran to Anatolia. The migration of people from Iran as they fled the Mongol conquests of the 1220s is undoubtedly another element in this transmission, since it created a level of mobility—initially through force—that endured under the Mongol imperial umbrella throughout the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. This would go far to explain the monument in Divriği, since the building was constructed shortly after these migrations are known to have occurred. What is more difficult to explain is how workmen who were accustomed to executing motifs on a small scale and in stucco were able, all of a sudden, to shift to the large-scale salient motifs present in Divriği and, later, in Sivas. The region's soft limestone may have facilitated the task, and it is also possible that the larger scale came about because local craftsmen were not familiar with the small size of the original motifs. Finally, we may easily imagine that new results like these arose from collaborations between local stone-carving experts and immigrants who brought their designs with them—again, possibly with drawings helping to bridge the transition from one material to another, and from one patronage to the next.

[137] Pancaroğlu, "The Mosque-Hospital Complex at Divriği:" 188.
[138] Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Scroll:* 1–23.

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3

On the Ilkhanid frontier: Erzurum (1280–1320)

Located in what is now northeastern Turkey, Erzurum was historically a frontier city on the Anatolian plateau. It was always a frontier city on all sides—first between the Byzantine Empire, Armenian landlords, and expanding Islamic influence in Iran, then between the Muslim Seljuks and the Christian kings of Armenia. Beginning in the mid-thirteenth century, it found itself between the Mongol Empire and the center of Anatolia, peripheral yet crucial to both. In this context, imperial architecture never had a chance to take hold, and local traditions became particularly ingrained, perhaps even more so than in Sivas, examined in Chapter 2.

As a result, the late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century architecture of Erzurum offers an excellent opportunity to study the dynamics of local and imperial identities under Mongol rule, in particular in the years after the conversion to Islam of the Ilkhanid ruler Ghāzān Khān (r. 694–703/ 1295–1304). It was not uncommon for conflicts to arise between the *yasa*, the Mongol code of law, and the Islamic sharia, both before and after the Islamization of the Ilkhanid rulers.[1] This first became apparent in 681–83/ 1282–84, during the short rule of the Ilkhan Tegüder, who became a Muslim and took the name Aḥmad—an action for which he was promptly criticized.[2] At this point, though the Mongols in Iran had long been interacting with the Persian-speaking Muslim families prominent in the Ilkhanid administration, the time was not yet ripe for the conquerors to adopt the local religion.[3]

The conversion only became final under Ghāzān Khān, resulting in a new Islamic identity for Ilkhanid rule, though some Mongol customs also remained, and the creation of endowments in the name of the Ilkhanid sultans. While royal foundations were concentrated in Iran, Ilkhanid notables and governors in Anatolia now also began to include their overlords' names in the foundation inscriptions of Islamic monuments. There are several examples in Erzurum reflecting this newly

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[1] Reuven Amitai, "Ghāzān, Islam and Mongol Tradition: A View from the Mamlūk Sultanate," *BSOAS* 59 (1996): 1–10; Hoffmann, *Waqf:* 79–80.

[2] Reuven Amitai, "The conversion of Tegüder Ilkhan to Islam," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001): 15–43; Amitai also points out that there is virtually no evidence to date that anyone outside the highest level of the Mongol armies converted to Islam, and any such cases may not be traceable in the written sources at all.

[3] For more on the interaction between the Mongol rulers and Persian administrators, see: Aubin, *Emirs mongols et vizirs persans*.

Islamized Ilkhanid identity with its changed outlook on patronage. Located at the eastern edge of Anatolia, close to the Ilkhanid capital of Tabriz, Erzurum went from being a peripheral location to a gateway to the region. Suddenly the focus of more attention than it had received since the twelfth century, the city saw its frontier image renewed and transformed. The monuments analyzed in this chapter, several madrasas founded around 1300, were one of the results of this new Islamic Ilkhanid patronage.

Half a century before these monuments were built, in 639/ 1242, Erzurum had been the first city the Mongols had conquered on their campaign into Anatolia, which both Seljuk and Armenian sources refer to as a violent invasion.[4] While it is debatable whether these sources can be taken at face value or are simply accounts that reflect the fear of those who were conquered, the experience was clearly traumatic, though perhaps not as devastating as the conquest of Central Asia and Iran in the 1220s.

The surviving twelfth-century monuments in Erzurum, including the Great Mosque, Kale Camii, and a fragmentary minaret on the citadel (the so-called Tepsi Minare), were probably built under Saltukid rule and are important points of reference for understanding the city's development in the years around 1300. During this period, three monuments were constructed, all of them madrasas: the Yakutiye Medrese in 710/ 1310, the now-ruined Ahmediye Medrese in 714/ 1314, and the Çifte Minareli Medrese (Figure 3.1), an undated monument that, as I will argue here, is best placed in the timeframe between 1280 and 1300.

The question of why three madrasas were founded within such a short timespan is up for debate; what is clear, however, is that this sudden increase in educational institutions would have transformed Erzurum rapidly, with the arrival of teachers and students of Islamic law and theology, and that it may have indicated an increased need for the training of ulema. While the rise of Erzurum as a center of scholarship may not have been as immediate as that of Sivas in 670/ 1271–72, the emergence of these institutions was certainly dramatic, especially at a moment when the Ilkhanids were becoming more and more integrated into Muslim religious life.

At the time of the Mongol conquest of Erzurum, which came at the beginning of a series of defeats for the Seljuks that led to the invasion of Anatolia and its integration into the Mongol realm in 639/ 1243, Seljuk rule in northeastern Anatolia was not particularly strong. It was only in 598/ 1202 that Rukn al-Dīn Sulaymānshāh (r. 592–600/ 1196–1204) had taken over Erzurum from the Saltukids, a local Turkic dynasty that had ruled there since shortly after the battle of Malazgirt in 463/ 1071. The Saltukids had made Erzurum their capital, and had expanded their territory to include Bayburt, Şebin-Karahisar, and the surrounding areas.[5]

When the Seljuks took over, they appointed one of the sons of Qilij Arslan II (r. 550–88/ 1155–92), Mughīth al-Dīn Ṭughrilshāh, to Erzurum. He ruled with some degree of independence until his death in 622/ 1225, when his son, Rukn al-Dīn

[4] Grigor of Akanc, "History of the Nation of the Archers:" 307, 309; Ibn Bībī, tr. Duda: 222–4; Ibn Bībī, *Selçuknâme*, tr. Yinanç: 173–4.

[5] Leiser, "Saltuḳ Oghulları"; Sümer, "Saltuklular".

3.1 Çifte Minareli Medrese, Erzurum, view of portal, author's photograph

Jahānshāh, took over.[6] Early on in his reign, Rukn al-Dīn Jahānshāh (r. 622–27/ 1225–30) sought an alliance with the Khwarezmshah Jalāl al-Dīn (r. 617–28/ 1220–31). This incited the wrath of his cousin, the Seljuk sultan of Konya, 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād (r. 616–36/ 1220–37), who, together with Ayyubid forces from Aleppo, defeated his wayward cousin at the battle of Yassı Çimen in 627/ 1230. Rukn al-Dīn Jahānshāh was killed after the battle, and Erzurum either surrendered or was captured.[7] The city never became central to the Seljuk realm, especially since 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād focused his rule and patronage on his capital, Konya, in central Anatolia. Rukn al-Dīn Jahānshāh's sister, known only by her titles 'Iṣmat al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn, was married to her cousin, and became active as a patron in Uluborlu, where she may have been in exile after a short-lived political marriage without issue.[8]

After the battle of Yassı Çimen, Erzurum was administered by governors appointed from Konya and remained on the periphery of the Seljuk realm, directly exposed to the Mongol threat that began to emerge in the 1230s. The governor of Erzurum at the time of the Mongol invasion in 639/ 1242 was Sinān al-Dīn Yāqūt, who, according to Ibn Bībī, lost control of the city due to the treasonous actions of one Mushrif Duwaynī, who opened the city gates to the invaders. Once the Mongol

[6] Scott Redford, "Paper, Stone, Scissors: 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād, 'Iṣmat al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn, and the Writing of Seljuk History," in: A.C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds) *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2013: 158–9.

[7] Redford, "Paper, Stone, Scissors:" 162–3.

[8] Redford, "Paper, Stone, Scissors:" 152–6.

3.2 Çifte Minareli Medrese, Erzurum, detail of incomplete carving on left side of portal, author's photograph

forces entered Erzurum, Sinān al-Dīn Yāqūt and his son were killed, and the city was plundered.[9] There is no record of any building activity in Erzurum for at least 50 years after this conquest; the extent to which earlier monuments were destroyed is not clear, but several monuments that pre-date the Mongol conquest, including the Great Mosque, Kale Camii and a mausoleum, survived.

These monuments were all built under Saltukid rule, before the Seljuks conquered Erzurum. The presence of the local branch of Seljuks that ruled Erzurum and Erzincan from 598–627/ 1202–30 is not recorded in any inscriptions in these two central cities. It is unclear whether this is the result of an absence of patronage, poor preservation, or even a *damnatio memoriae* after the death of Rukn al-Dīn Jahānshāh.

[9] Ibn Bībī, tr. Duda: 222–4; Ibn Bībī, *Selçuknâme*, tr. Yinanç: 173–4.

Inscriptions naming Mughīth al-Dīn Ṭughrilshāh, however, have been preserved on the citadel of Bayburt, and on a mosque in İspir, a town located about 100 km from Bayburt. The lack of inscriptions in Erzurum may, as Scott Redford suggests, be the result of an attempt to erase the memory of this Seljuk sub-dynasty once 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād had eliminated his rebellious cousin.[10] After Erzurum fell to the central Seljuk power in Konya, no monuments appear to have been added in the city, which was now far from the focus of Seljuk patronage. Thus, what remains in Erzurum are Saltukid structures built in the late twelfth century, to which there are many references in the architecture of the late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century structures examined in this chapter.

The Çifte Minareli Medrese in Erzurum is incomplete, and it has been suggested that this was a result of the Mongol attack on the city. On an architectural level, only the absence of a few details in the carving of the portal (Figure 3.2) and the lack of a foundation inscription indicate that construction was interrupted, probably shortly before completion. The absence of a foundation inscription is crucial to the discussion of the Çifte Minareli Medrese, since both the monument's date and its founder's name are unknown as a result. The section over the doorway, where such an inscription would have been placed, remains empty. Consequently, the monument's date of construction is uncertain, with scholars placing it at various points between the 1220s and 1320s. I will argue that it is more convincingly placed in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, as part of the architectural interventions under Ilkhanid rule in Erzurum, Bayburt, and Ani. In Mren, an Armenian site near the city of Ani in northeastern Anatolia, close to Kars, a certain Samadin, who acquired the city from its Mkhargrdzeli governors in 1271, built a palace in 1276.[11] In its architecture, this palace recalls the post-Mongol monuments of Sivas and Erzurum—in particular those of the latter, with their close connections to Armenian architecture and more broadly conceived references to Islamic architecture, such as the *muqarnas* on the portal. This wider local and regional context, extending beyond the area marked by the legacy of Seljuk architecture, is crucial to understanding the late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century architecture of Erzurum.

As we shall see, an analysis of the Çifte Minareli Medrese, together with another virtually contemporary monument in Erzurum, the Yakutiye Medrese (710/ 1310) (Figure 3.3), reveals the prevalence of references to buildings in the same city dating to the twelfth century, and local connections to Armenian architecture, which are ubiquitous in the monuments of Erzurum.

With the addition of a third monument, the now ruined Ahmediye Medrese (714/ 1314), Erzurum saw a significant increase in the construction of madrasas in the period between 1290 and 1315. While this surge in construction was not as extreme

[10] Redford, "Paper, Stone, Scissors:" 159, 167.

[11] Hakob A. Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade*, tr. Nina Garsoian, Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand, 1965: 178, 187–90 (with the date of 1261 for the construction of the palace, which is in fact the year in which Samadin purchased the land on which it was built in 1276). For the full text of the inscription in Armenian, with a Russian translation: Nikolai Yavkovlevitch Marr, "Novye materialy po armianskoi epigrafike," *Zapiski vostochago otdelenia imperatorskago russkago arkheologicheskago obshchestba* VIII (1893–94): 82–3; for images: http://www.virtualani.org/mren/index.htm, accessed 7 February 2013. I thank Professor Scott Redford for the suggestion that I consider this monument.

3.3 Yakutiye Medrese, Erzurum, view, author's photograph

as the building of three madrasas in Sivas in 670/ 1271–72 discussed in Chapter 2, it nevertheless warrants attention. Together with the rise in construction in Sivas, and in Konya between 1240 and 1270 (analyzed in Chapter 1), it was the third such cluster of madrasa building in the second half of the thirteenth century, and may suggest that these monuments were more than a tool for Islamization.[12]

Patronage was different in all three cases: in Konya, notables closely connected to the Seljuk court, who were able to retain and increase their power after the Mongol conquest, were responsible for the buildings. One of these notables, Ṣāḥib ʿAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī (d. 684/ 1285), also commissioned a madrasa in Sivas, while the other two patrons active in this city were connected to the Ilkhanids in Iran. In Erzurum, as the discussion below will show, one patron, Jamāl al-Dīn Yāqūt, was clearly connected to the Ilkhanid rulers whose names appear in the foundation inscription of the building. The two other patrons are either unknown or not recorded in any other sources.

Within the context of the increasing Islamization of the Ilkhanid elites in Iran, and especially the conversion of the Ilkhanid ruler Ghāzān Khān (r. 694–703/ 1295–1304) just before his accession, monuments connected to Islamic religious functions were now built with inscriptions that referred to Ilkhanid rulers. After 1300, the names of the Seljuk sultans, who survived as members of a powerless dynasty until the death of Rukn al-Dīn Qilij Arslān V in 718/ 1318, disappeared from building inscriptions in eastern Anatolia.[13] The region's incorporation into the Ilkhanid realm thus reached its fullest extent. This included a large-scale reform project, implemented by Ghāzān Khān, which established Ilkhanid mints in Anatolia whose number increased over the course of the reigns of Ghāzān Khān and his successors, until the death of Abu Saʿid in 736/ 1335.[14] At the same time, the caravanserai network in Iran and the Caucasus was expanded, though not many buildings from the period survive.[15] The caravan routes from Tabriz into Anatolia, leading either through Van or Erzurum, were part of this larger network, which connected western Iran to the Mediterranean (see Map 3). The architecture associated with this endeavor is poorly preserved and is not central to this study with its focus on urban centers, though the trade networks in question will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

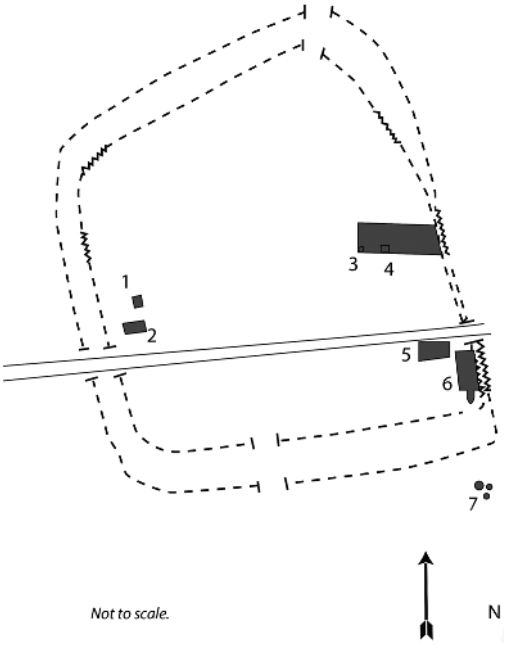
The three buildings in Erzurum also represent the greatest concentration of madrasas recorded in Anatolia in this period, as well as the peak of this kind of activity under Ilkhanid rule, whether in Iran or Anatolia. In Iran, Ilkhanid madrasa construction was relatively limited, at least as far as it is possible to determine today

[12] For a general discussion of this issue, see: Leiser, "The Madrasah."

[13] The last dated example is on the mention of Ghiyāth al-Dīn II Masʿūd (r. 682–95/ 1284–96 and 702–10/ 1302–10) on the Halef Gazi Zaviye, Tokat, dated 681/ 1292, *RCEA*, no. 4960; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Tûḳâd, Nîksâr, Zîle, Ṭûrkhâl, Pâzâr, Amâsya Vilâyeti, Ḳazâ ve Nâḥiye Merkezlerindeki Kitâbeleri*, Istanbul: Millî Matbaası, 1345/ 1927: 12.

[14] Illustrated in: Ömer Diler, *Ilkhanids: Coinage of the Persian Mongols*, Istanbul: Turkuaz Kitapçılık, 2006. Another book largely based on a study of Ilkhanid coins: Judith Kolbas, *The Mongols in Iran: Chingiz Khan to Uljāytū 1220–1309*, London and New York: Routledge, 2006.

[15] Kleiss, *Karawanenbauten in Iran*, vol. 1: 11–12 and Figs. 1, 3, 4; Kolbas, *The Mongols in Iran:* 378–9; Anatolij Leopol'dovich Iakobson and N.M. Bachinskij, *Ocherk Istorii Zodchestva Armenii V–XVII Vekov,* Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo arkhitektury i gradostroitel'stva, 1950: 106–11; Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran*, 37 and cat. nos. 85, 89, 90.



3.4 Plan of Erzurum with monuments discussed in the text, sketch by the author based on Ünal, *Monuments islamiques*, Fig. 2. Drawing by Deniz Coşkun

1. Ahmediye Medrese (no longer extant)
2. Yakutiye Medrese
3. Tepsi Minare
4. Kale Camii (Citadel Mosque)
5. Great Mosque
6. Çifte Minareli Medrese
7. Üç Kümbet (Three Mausolea)

based on the monuments that have been preserved or recorded in sources.[16] This focus on building madrasas in urban centers, and their references to earlier, local buildings, is a phenomenon that sets eastern Anatolia in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries apart from earlier periods. This chapter will focus on an analysis of the individual monuments, followed by an examination of references to Saltukid buildings, and of the urban fabric as a whole.

The Çifte Minareli Medrese

The Çifte Minareli Medrese is the largest surviving medieval monument in Erzurum, dominating the section of the historical city near the citadel. The Great Mosque of Erzurum, built in the late twelfth century by the city's Saltukid ruler, stands next to the Çifte Minareli Medrese, which dwarfs the smaller building despite its massive stone construction. The exact date of the Great Mosque, which also lacks a foundation inscription, is not known, yet an attribution to the late twelfth century is likely, based on other nearby monuments. While İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı suggested 575/ 1179, based on a now-lost document that the author did not see firsthand, other scholars have opted for a more open dating.[17] Rahmi Hüseyin Ünal suggested a late twelfth-century date for parts of the monument—namely, the

[16] The examples described in Donald Wilber's study of Ilkhanid Iran are all dated to the third quarter of the fourteenth century: Wilber, *Architecture of Islamic Iran*, cat. nos. 100, 107, 109.

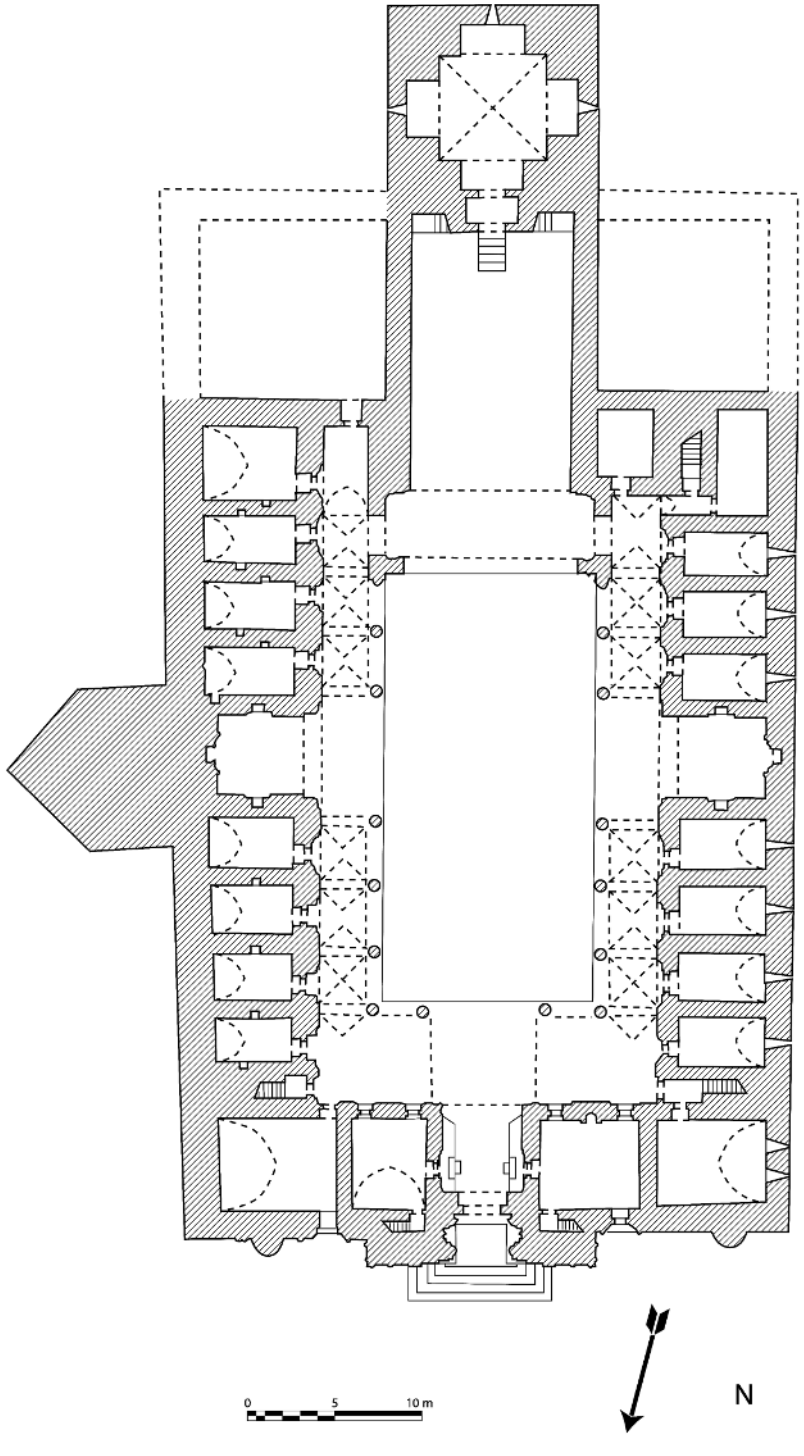
[17] İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Erzurum Tarihi*, Istanbul: Erzurum Tarihini Araştırma ve Tanıtma Derneği Yayınları, 1960: 267–8.

3.5 Kale Camii, Erzurum, view, author's photograph

qibla wall and possibly the central nave of the prayer hall with its *muqarnas* dome, which was copied in the Yakutiye Medrese. According to Ünal, large parts of the structure, including the entrance façade, are probably the result of restorations carried out in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[18] Whatever is the case, the location of the Great Mosque, close to the citadel and just across a small path from the Çifte Minareli Medrese (Figure 3.4), is essential to understanding the spatial relationship between the Saltukid and Ilkhanid monuments of Erzurum, which I will discuss below.

According to a reconstruction of the city walls by Ünal, the Çifte Minareli Medrese stood just behind the walls and close to a city gate, at the eastern edge of the city. Today, the city walls and gate are no longer extant, but the Çifte Minareli Medrese, with a pair of brick minarets surmounting its imposing stone façade, towers over the surrounding buildings, in part due to its position at the peak of a slight slope that descends towards the citadel, which itself stands on a mound. In the citadel, a small twelfth-century mosque, known only as the Kale Camii (Citadel Mosque) (Figure 3.5), and fragments of a minaret that were later transformed into a clock tower (known as the Tepsi Minare) face the Çifte Minareli Medrese. The dialogue between these four structures—the Great Mosque, Kale Camii, clock tower, and Çifte Minareli Medrese—will be examined later.

[18] Ünal also points out that the roof of the building collapsed in 1964: Rahmi Hüseyin Ünal, *Les monuments islamiques anciens de la ville d'Erzurum et de sa région*, Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1968: 28–31. The structure has since been fully restored.



3.6 Çifte Minareli Medrese, Erzurum, plan, redrawn after Kuran, *Anadolu Medreseleri*, Fig. 64 and Sözen, *Anadolu Medreseleri*, vol.1, Figs. 11 and 11a. Drawing by Deniz Coşkun

3.7 Çifte Minareli Medrese, Erzurum, view of courtyard towards the portal, author's photograph

3.8 Çifte Minareli Medrese (left) and Great Mosque (right), Erzurum, author's photograph

Though the Çifte Minareli Medrese is sometimes considered incomplete due to a lack of inscriptions, there is in fact nothing missing from the structure of the monument, at least in its current, restored form. The tall stone arch that forms the transition between the open courtyard and mausoleum was reconstructed in the 1960s.[19]

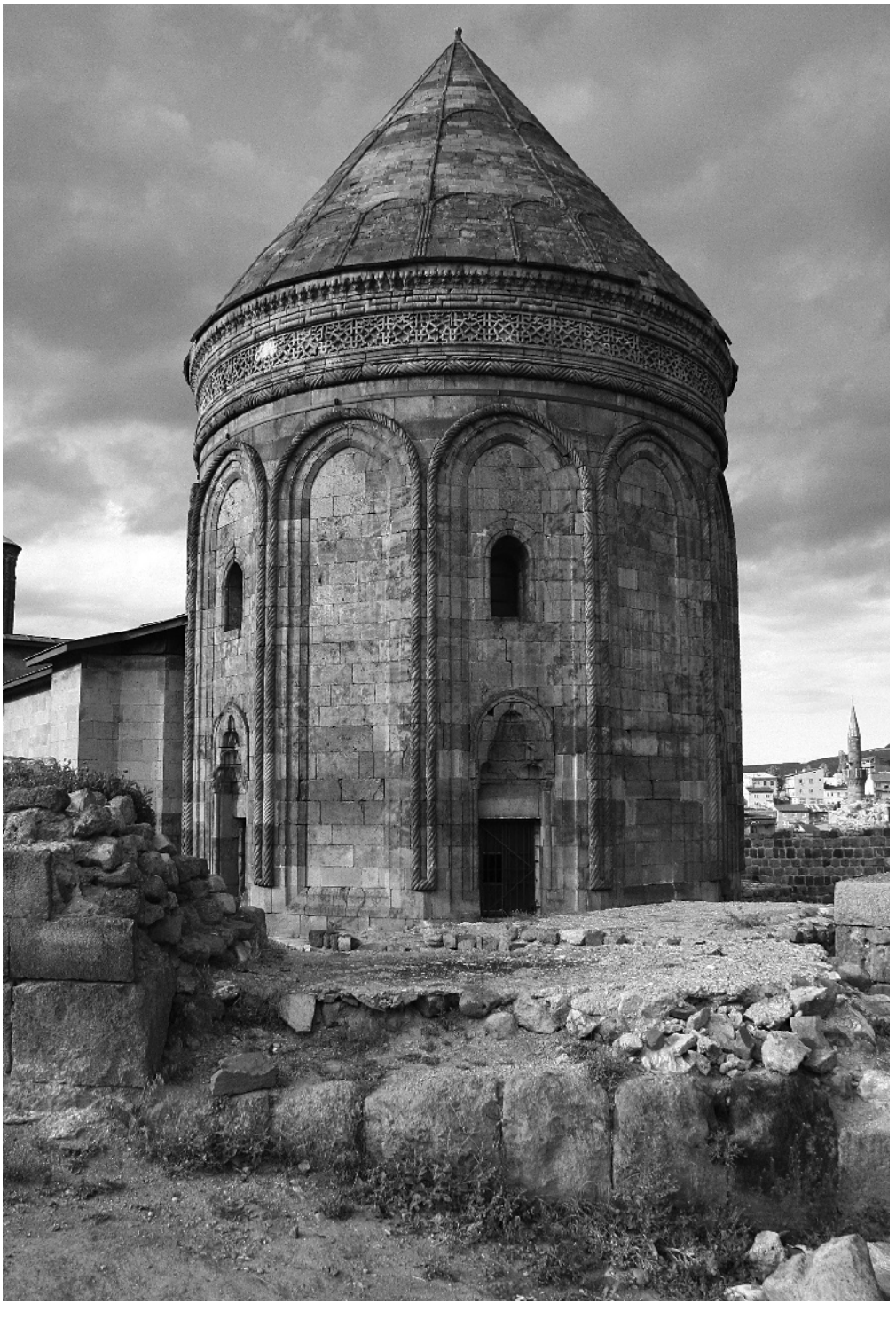
The monument's original purpose as a madrasa has been deduced from is rectangular plan, with four *īwān*s in the cardinal directions and small rooms to the sides on the first and second floors, which would have been used as residences for students (Figures 3.6 and 3.7). This plan is so typical of thirteenth-century Anatolian madrasas that it leaves little doubt about the monument's intended function, despite the absence of a foundation inscription designating it as a madrasa. What is uncommon, however, is the mausoleum, a cylindrical structure with a conical roof and a crypt below, which stands on the monument's longitudinal axis (Figures 3.8 and 3.9) and is connected to the main structure by a tall *īwān*.

The mausoleum resembles the many freestanding funerary structures of the same shape built in Anatolia between the twelfth and early fourteenth centuries.[20] The closest parallels in Erzurum are the so-called Üç Kümbet, a group of three mausolea located just a few hundred meters from the Çifte Minareli Medrese (Figure 3.10). All three of these structures are undated, yet the oldest may be from the twelfth century, while the other two are attributed to the late thirteenth century.[21]

[19] For photographs taken before the restoration, see: Ünal, *Monuments islamiques*, Figs. 68, 69.

[20] Ülkü Bates, "The Anatolian Mausoleum of the Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Centuries," PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1970; Hakkı Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1996.

[21] Ünal, *Monuments islamiques:* 108, 113, 115.



3.9 Çifte Minareli Medrese, Erzurum, mausoleum, author's photograph

3.10 Two of the Three Mausolea (Üç Kümbet), Erzurum, author's photograph

In one of the earliest sources to mention the Çifte Minareli Medrese, the seventeenth-century *Seyâhatnâme* by Evliyâ Çelebî, the monument is referred to as a mosque, though the name contains a reference to its (perhaps former) function as a madrasa: "And attached wall-to-wall to this mosque [the Great Mosque] is the Old Mosque Madrasa {they also call it Çifte Minareli}. Some say that it is a building of the Akçakoyunlu rulers [some relate that it is a building of Sultan Uzun Hasan,][22] and it is close to the Kurşumlu (sic) Mosque [an unidentified building]."[23] This passage is the earliest of many indicating the unclear nature of the Çifte Minareli Medrese's patronage. The attribution of the building to Uzun Ḥasan (r. 857–82/ 1453–78), a ruler of the Turkmen Aqqoyunlu dynasty, centered in southwestern Anatolia, is probably derived from local oral traditions; at any rate, traces of Aqqoyunlu architectural patronage are found in the region of Mardin and Diyarbakır rather than in northeastern Anatolia, where they only took hold briefly and tenuously.[24]

[22] A few lines of the text are missing in the most recent edition of Evliyâ Çelebî, *Seyâhatnâme,* ed. Y. Dağlı, R. Dankoff, S. A. Kahraman, Z. Kurşun, vol. 2: 106–7. Since no mention is made that these lines were missing in the manuscript, an editorial error seems likely. The section in brackets here is quoted after the slightly modernized rendering in Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Erzurum Tarihi:* 350.

[23] "Ve bu câmi'in [that is, the Ulu Cami] cânib-i şarkîsine muttasıl dîvâr dîvâra Câmi'-i Eski Medrese {ve Çifte Minâre derler} Ba'zılar Akçakoyunlu pâdişâhları binâsıdır, derler, ba'zılar Sultân Uzun [Hasen-i Tavil'in binasıdır olduğu rivayet ederler] ve Kurşumlu (sic) câmi'e karîbdir." Evliyâ Çelebî, *Seyâhatnâme*, ed. Y. Dağlı, R. Dankoff et al., vol. 2: 106–7.

[24] Vladimir Minorsky, "Aḳ Ḳoyunlu," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ak-koyunlu-SIM_0444, accessed 4 June 2013.

The passage, with its apocryphal attribution to a well known yet not locally connected patron, strongly suggests that there was no foundation inscription even at the time of Evliyâ Çelebî's visit in the seventeenth century. The remaining façade decoration—stone carvings containing floral motifs, a set of dragon heads curling out from beneath palm trees on either side of the entrance, and a *muqarnas* niche above the doorway—is complete, with the exception of a few details to the left of the portal. The minarets, made of brick and decorated with glazed tile, tower high above the façade, an effect further accentuated by the monument's elevated location.

The extensive debate about the monument's date in previous studies invites a review of the arguments—based on both historical and stylistic evidence—that have led scholars to suggest dates ranging from the 1220s to 1300. The double minarets, placed on top of the portal, are included in this discussion since they have been described both as the first such example in Anatolia, predating the portal of the Sahib Ata Complex in Konya (dated 656/ 1258), and as a later reference to that same monument. The use of multiple minarets is usually associated with high-ranking, often royal patrons.[25] A number of scholars have suggested that the monument was built in several stages: of the twelfth-century Saltukid foundation, only the main *īwān* survived, which was subsequently expanded in both directions with the addition of the main part of the madrasa, before the mausoleum and other additions to the construction were finally added at a later date, probably in the late thirteenth century.[26]

An early mention of the Çifte Minareli Medrese appears in François Belin's account of his travels from Istanbul to Erzurum.[27] Belin was a translator for the French consul in Erzurum in 1843–44, before moving on to Thessaloniki. The text probably recounts his journey on the way to his first appointment in diplomatic service.[28] Belin referred to the monument as "Tchifté Ménâré" and dated it to 351/ 962.[29] This date can be discounted since Erzurum was still under Byzantine rule and known by its Greek name, Theodosiopolis, in the late tenth century.[30] Belin subsequently described an inscription in Persian that extends across the bases of the two minarets.[31] This text is problematic for a number of reasons. To begin

[25] On the use of multiple minarets in the Ottoman context, see: Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire,* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005: 121–2; Bloom, *Minaret, Symbol of Islam:* 186–90.

[26] Kuran, *Anadolu Medreseleri:* 116–24; Sözen, *Anadolu Medreseleri*, vol. 1: 64–5, 72–3; Halûk Karamağaralı, "Erzurum'daki Hatuniye Medresesi'nin tarihi ve bânisi hakkında mülâhazalar," *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi* 3 (1971): 209–47; J. Michael Rogers, "The Date of the Çifte Minare Medrese at Erzurum," *Kunst des Orients* 8, no. 1–2 (1972): 111–2.

[27] François Alphonse Belin, "Extrait du journal d'un voyage de Paris à Erzeroum," *Journal Asiatique* 4e série XIX (1852): 365–78, and pl. I–III.

[28] François Alphonse Belin, *Histoire de la latinité de Constantinople*, second edition, Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1894: 6.

[29] Belin, "Extrait du journal:" 375.

[30] Between 33/ 653 and 338/ 949 the city changed hands between the Byzantines and Arabs several times. From 338/ 949 until 473/ 1080, it remained under Byzantine rule and was then captured by the Saltukids. Halil İnalcık, "Erzurum," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/erzurum-SIM_2204, accessed 20 February 2014; Sümer, "Saltuklular:" 398–9.

[31] For the transcription of the inscription as acquired in Erzurum, see: Belin, "Extrait du journal," pl. II and III, and ibid: 376–7 for the printed text in Persian and a French translation. For an amended version of the Persian text see: Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Erzurum Tarihi:* 353; Konyalı's rendering is translated in: J. Michael Rogers, "The date of the Çifte Minare:" 89.

with, the only visible inscriptions on the bases of the minarets are formulaic phrases in Arabic, and there is no empty space that could have accommodated a lengthy inscription (Plate 6).[32] Moreover, the inscription noted in Belin's account is in Persian and in the first person singular, both highly unusual features that raise doubts about its authenticity.

Indeed, an entire set of problems becomes apparent at the level of language: in the thirteenth century, use of Persian in a foundation inscription would have been highly unusual. Recently, Bernard O'Kane has discussed instances of Persian used in monumental inscriptions in Anatolia beginning in the early thirteenth century; their content is usually poetic or literary—for example, the passages from the *Shāhnāme* quoted on the city walls of Konya, built in the 1220s—rather than being concerned with praising the patron and documenting the building's date.[33] As was customary in the surrounding regions of the Islamic world at the time, the latter information remains in Arabic. In addition to the language and date, the script in the drawn rendering of the inscription resembles kufic lettering, which is almost never seen in Persian inscriptions and was rarely used in the thirteenth century, except on ornamental elements such as those inscribed at the base of the minarets.[34] Belin, who had studied with Sylvestre de Sacy and Etienne Quatremère in Paris, knew Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, and he acknowledged in a footnote that he did not see the inscription himself.[35] This observation raises some doubt, particularly because Belin spent a whole year in Erzurum. Walter Bachmann, a German traveler writing in 1913, already refers to the inscription as lost without suggesting where it may have been placed.[36] His reference to the text is not to Belin's publication, but to an Armenian travel account that I have been unable to find.[37] The text cited by Bachmann (in German translation only) is not identical to Belin's, but it is quite similar. This may exclude the possibility that Belin made up the inscription to impress with his language skills, and points perhaps to a local fabrication conjured up to impress the visiting foreigner.

Besides the dubious existence of this inscription, there is limited written documentation concerning the Çifte Minareli Medrese. As is often the case for Anatolian structures, the medieval written sources do not mention the monument. According to Konyalı, a fragment of an Ilkhanid inscription was found in the mausoleum. Since the text read "thirty dirham [....] may God accept,"[38] Konyalı assumed that the fragment belonged to a *waqf* inscription similar to the one in the

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[32] The center reads "allāh" (God) and may be surrounded by the names ʻAlī and Muḥammad in highly stylized kufic script.

[33] Bernard O'Kane, *The Appearance of Persian on Islamic Art*, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns and New York: Persian Heritage Foundation, 2009: 35–42, 149.

[34] For a detailed discussion of the inscription and the historical as well as linguistic problems it poses, see: Rogers, "The Date of the Çifte Minare Medrese:" 86–91.

[35] Belin, "Extrait du journal:" 375, no. 1.

[36] Walter Bachmann, *Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenien und Kurdistan*, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1913: 78.

[37] Nerses Sarkisian, *Topographie von Klein- und Groß-Armenien*, Venice, 1864: cited in Bachmann, *Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenien und Kurdistan*: 78, note 3.

[38] "thalathūn dirham [...] taqabbala ʻllāhu taʻālā," Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Erzurum Tarihi:* 357.

nearby Yakutiye Medrese (710/ 1310).[39] Now that this piece has also been lost, the building is devoid of all historical epigraphy, and any discussion regarding its date must confine itself to stylistic considerations.

In the 1930s, Abdurrahim Beygu suggested that the patron of the madrasa may have been Mahperī Khātūn, the patron of the caravanserai in Pazar near Tokat and of the Huand Hatun complex in Kayseri, built during the rule of this woman's son, the Seljuk sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II (r. 636–44/ 1237–46).[40] Several scholars, including İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, have since dismissed this attribution.[41] Konyalı suggested that the building was probably commissioned by an Ilkhanid woman, namely Khwānd Pādishāh Khātūn, the wife of the Ilkhan Gaykhātū (r. 690–94/ 1291–95).[42] Pādishāh Khātūn did in fact live in Anatolia for several years before leaving the area definitively in 690/ 1291, but it isn't clear in which city she stayed, and she is not documented as a patron of architecture in this region.[43] According to Aflākī's *Manāqib al-'ārifīn*, a hagiographic account of the Mawlawīya written in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, a certain Pāshā Khātūn, wife of Gaykhātū, is said to have died in Erzurum at an unspecified date.[44] It is unclear whether this version is reliable or not, and whether the Pāshā Khātūn of Aflākī's text may be identified with the historical Pādishāh Khātūn. The absence of a funerary inscription in the mausoleum may suggest that this structure was in fact never used for a burial. All the same, attributing the building to this patron may be a step in the right direction, at least as regards the late thirteenth-century date. Not only was Pādishāh Khātūn a historical figure connected to the region of Erzurum, whose wealth and status would have enabled her to establish such a large foundation, but stylistic considerations also support a late thirteenth-century date.[45]

The attribution to Pādishāh Khātūn remains contested primarily because the foundation seems to have been abandoned at a very late stage in construction.[46] In trying to explain this interruption, which could have been due to the Mongol conquest of Erzurum in 639/ 1242, scholars have suggested an earlier date based on stylistic evidence. The points of comparison are the Gök Medrese in Sivas (670/ 1271–72), and the Great Mosque and Hospital in Divriği (626/ 1228–29). Rogers and Meinecke suggested that the scheme and decoration of the façade of the Gök Medrese in Sivas must derive from that of the Çifte Minareli Medrese in Erzurum, which would date the monument to the middle of the thirteenth century—and,

[39] Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Erzurum Tarihi:* 357.

[40] Abdurrahim Şerif Beygu, *Erzurum Tarihi, Anıtları, Kitabeleri*, Istanbul: Bozkurt Basımevi, 1936*:* 127–8; on Mahperī Khātūn's patronage: Eastmond, "Gender and Patronage between Christianity and Islam:" 79–85; Crane, "Notes on Saljūq Architectural Patronage," roll of patrons, no. 30; Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, vol. 1: 39–51.

[41] In Konyalı's transliteration: *"Vakf-ı medrese-i Hand Hatun bint-i Keykubad ibn-i Keyhusrev-il-meşhur be Sultan Ala-ed-din. Hammam der nefs-i Erzurum bab 1."* Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Erzurum Tarihi:* 338.

[42] Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Erzurum Tarihi:* 347–8.

[43] Ann K.S. Lambton, *Continuity and change in medieval Persia: aspects of administrative, economic, and social history, 11th–14th century*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1988: 281–7; Bahriye Üçok, *İslâm Devletlerinde Türk Naibeler ve Kadın Hükümdarlar*, third edition, Ankara: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2011: 129–50.

[44] Aflākī, *Ariflerin Menkibleri*, tr Yazıcı: 653–4.

[45] Ünal, *Monuments islamiques:* 99–101.

[46] Rogers, "The Date of the Çifte Minare:" 93–7.

3.11 Çifte Minareli Medrese, Erzurum, pillar in courtyard, author's photograph

effectively, before 1240.[47] This, combined with the assumption that construction was interrupted by the Mongol attack on Erzurum in 639/ 1242, provides a convenient explanation for the monument's incomplete state and lack of inscriptions. The question of patronage, however, is not easily solved in this case because, as we have seen in Chapter 1, the Seljuk sultans were not particularly keen patrons of eastern Anatolian cities. On the other hand, the violence of the Mongol attack—if the sources from the time can be trusted—could easily have resulted in the destruction of a monument located as close to the city wall (now destroyed) as the Çifte Minareli Medrese.[48] However, the Saltukid Great Mosque, located right next to the Çifte Minareli Medrese, and the Kale Camii on the nearby citadel both survived the attack in question. Thus, the onslaught may not have been as violent in this section of the city (the location of the main attack is unknown), or its violence may have been directed at the city's inhabitants without necessarily destroying its monuments.

This line of reasoning would date the Çifte Minareli Medrese in Erzurum to around 1240, yet the stylistic evidence for this date is not very compelling. Details of the carving on the portal, in particular the palmettes on one of the frames surrounding it, place it firmly after 1280. A similar, dated example of this type of flattened and stylized motif can be found in a square ornamental field on the façade of the Torumtay Mausoleum in Amasya, dated 679/ 1280–81 (see Figure 4.11). Moreover, the decoration of the octagonal columns (Figure 3.11) in the courtyard of the Çifte Minareli Medrese, which covers the entire surface in networks of geometric patterns, is not necessarily directly connected or chronologically close to the decoration of the columns in the Great Mosque of Divriği.

Yet other columns are round and devoid of decoration on the shaft, with a *muqarnas* capital forming the transition to the wall above. Similar patterns, used in the same way, also appear in the Yakutiye Medrese. The shape of the octagonal pillars, with corbel capitals decorated primarily with vegetal motifs, recalls analogous elements in Armenian architecture, for instance in the second cave church at the monastery of Geghard in Armenia, built

[47] Rogers, "The Date of the Çifte Minare:" 111–14; Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen*, vol. 2: 137–9.
[48] See the reconstruction drawing in Ünal, *Monuments islamiques:* Fig. 37.

in 1283, and in an earlier *gavit'* (narthex) at the same site, built around 1215–25.[49] Similar examples can also be found in the city of Ani, in the so-called mosque of Manuchehr, for example, built in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.[50]

There are thus valid arguments for dating major parts of the structure to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.[51] Erzurum's location close to the Ilkhanid center in western Iran makes the city an almost obvious site for patronage, if not directly by the rulers, then at least by other officials. A later date for the Çifte Minareli Medrese in Erzurum is also supported by the construction of two dated madrasas in Erzurum—the Yakutiye Medrese in 710/ 1310 and the now largely ruined Ahmediye Medrese in 714/ 1314—during the period when the region was most closely integrated into the Ilkhanid realm, and by its stylistic connections to these two monuments. Moreover, the presence of a pair of minarets on the façade—a feature that does not appear in Anatolia before the Mongol invasion—also speaks in favor of a later date. The earliest dated examples of this architectural element—on the portal of the Sahib Ata Complex in Konya (656/ 1258) and on two of the madrasas built in Sivas in 670/ 1271–72, the Çifte Minareli Medrese and Gök Medrese—suggest that the patrons may have consciously attempted to provide a reference to Iran, perhaps even more strongly than in the case of early thirteenth-century monuments that the Seljuk sultans commissioned. The use of double-minarets also points to a high-ranking patron whose position, in the late thirteenth-century, would have required a direct connection to the Ilkhanid court. Thus, it is likely that Pādishāh Khātūn, or someone of similar standing, was the patron of the Çifte Minareli Medrese. An Ilkhanid governor of the city is another possible candidate. However, as we will see, the Yakutiye Medrese, which was built by such a representative of Mongol power, was much smaller than the Çifte Minareli Medrese. In terms of the funds available for construction, the size of the Çifte Minareli Medrese may point to a direct contribution from the Ilkhanid center, where the rulers, particularly Ghāzān Khān and Uljāytū, commissioned the most ambitiously monumental buildings. As such, the Çifte Minareli Medrese may be the only surviving example of a foundation built by a high-ranking Ilkhanid patron in Anatolia. The Yakutiye Medrese, on the other hand, had quite extensive *waqf* property, as we will see below, and may reflect a use of resources at the hands of an Ilkhanid official who preferred to secure his wealth in the region of his appointment, rather than close to the Ilkhanid center (similar to Nūr al-Dīn Jājā, whose *waqf* I mentioned in Chapter 1).

In the absence of concrete evidence on the building itself, the question of whether Pādishāh Khātūn was in fact its patron may never be answered. More importantly, however, the Çifte Minareli Medrese and the Yakutiye Medrese in Erzurum are a sign of the integration—albeit ephemeral—of Anatolia into the Ilkhanid realm that began with Ghāzān Khān's reforms and which led to more Ilkhanid mints in the region, as

[49] Iakobson and Bachinskij, *Ocherk Istorii:* 129; Nikolai Mikhailovitch Tokarskij, *Arkhitektura Drevneĭ Armenii,* Yerevan: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk Armianskoj SSR, 1946: 252–5; Alek'sandr Arami Sahinyan and Armen Manoukian, *Geghard*, Documenti di architettura armena, vol. 6, Milan: Edizioni Ares, 1973.

[50] Beyhan Karamağaralı, "Ani Ulu Cami (Manucehr Camii)," *9th International Congress of Turkish Art, contributions: 23–27 September 1991*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1995: 323–38.

[51] Rahmi Hüseyn Ünal, *Çifte Minareli Medrese, Erzurum,* Ankara: Kültür Bakanliği, 1989.

well as closer connections to Iran's caravanserai networks.[52] From the 1290s to the 1330s, Ilkhanid power extended across the borders of present-day Iran into Anatolia and the Caucasus. Though material remains are scarce today, the wide distribution and presence of coins minted in cities including Erzurum, Erzincan, Ani, and Tiflis, and even as far west as Bergama on the Aegean coast, show a level of economic transformation that is not clearly reflected in the preserved architecture.[53] At the architectural level, buildings like the Çifte Minareli Medrese in Erzurum, as well as commercial structures like the so-called Selim Caravanserai in present-day Armenia, built in 1332, attest to this broader geographical reach of the Ilkhanid influence.[54]

The peripheral role of Erzurum in the Rūm Seljuk realm, and the preference for building in the region of Konya throughout the first half of the thirteenth century provide a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the Çifte Minareli Medrese. The fact that the Yakutiye Medrese was built in Erzurum in 710/ 1310, and the Ahmediye Medrese four years later, shows that Ilkhanid patrons took an interest in the city during this period. Moreover, the Yakutiye Medrese includes references to the Çifte Minareli Medrese, indicating that the latter monument already existed in 710/ 1310. Consequently, the suggestion that the Çifte Minareli Medrese was built between 1290 and 1300 may not be far off the mark. It is worth examining the two later buildings more closely since they are crucial to understanding both the architecture of the Çifte Minareli Medrese and the creation of a local style with strong references to Armenian monuments. The Ahmediye Medrese did not survive the growth of Erzurum in the twentieth century and so will only be mentioned on the basis of older studies of fragments. The Yakutiye Medrese, on the other hand, is relatively well preserved and will thus take center stage.

The Yakutiye Medrese

The Yakutiye Medrese in Erzurum is one of two larger early-fourteenth century buildings known to have existed in the city. As previously noted, the second, the Ahmediye Medrese (dated 714/ 1314), has only survived in fragments, which are now enclosed in modern constructions.[55] The fragmentary inscription of the Ahmediye Medrese mentions its date of construction and the name of a patron, yet without any titles or a reference to a ruler's name, possibly suggesting a local notable.[56] The Yakutiye Medrese, which is located further from the citadel section of the city, was long in a poor state of preservation due to the fact that it was enclosed in the courtyard of military barracks built in the nineteenth century. It was only in

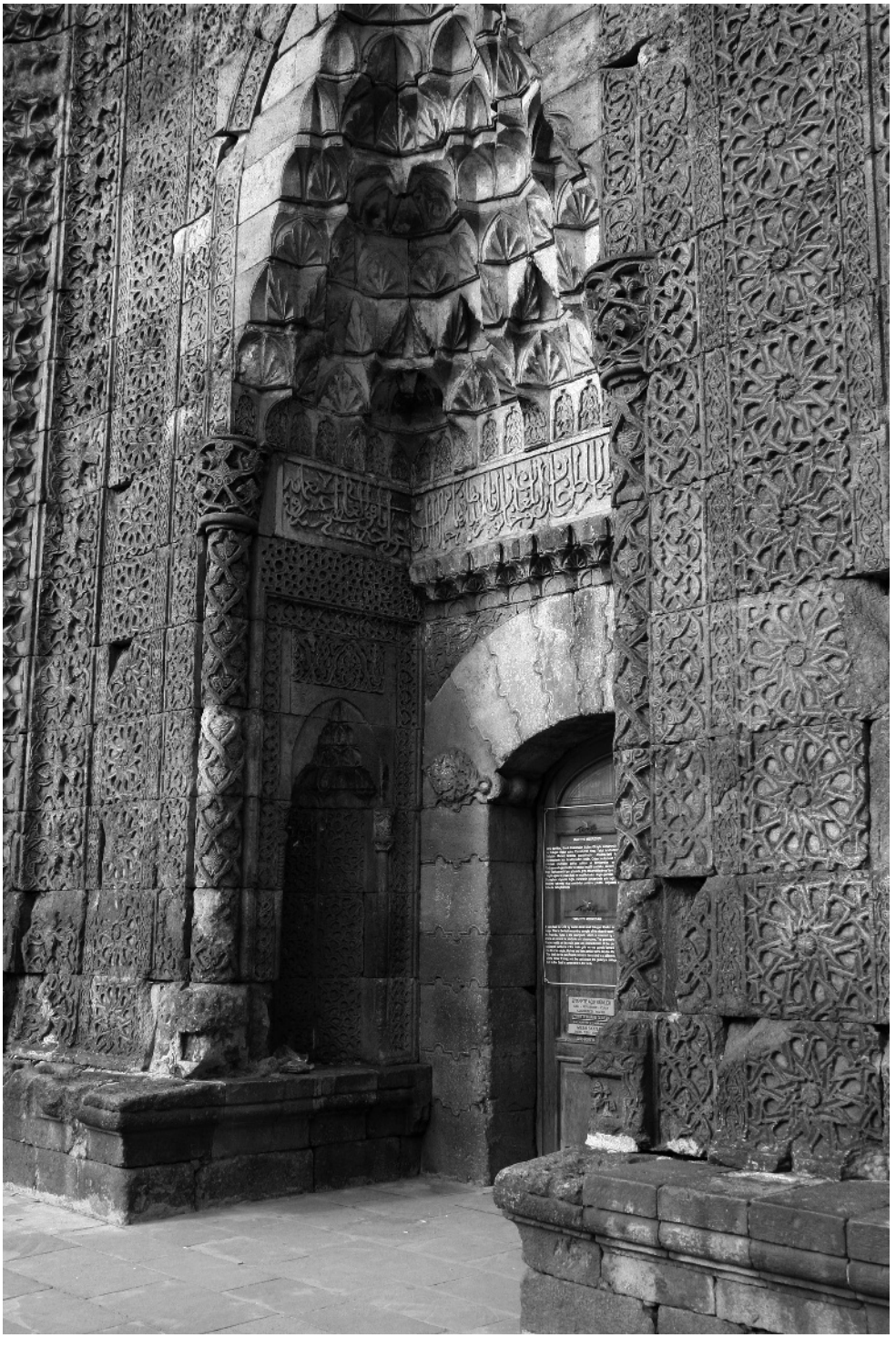
[52] Kolbas, *The Mongols in Iran:* 378–9; Kleiss, *Karawanenbauten in Iran*, vol.1: 11–2 and maps of caravan routes: Figs. 1, 3, 4.

[53] Diler, *Ilkhanids:* 379.

[54] http://www.armeniapedia.org/wiki/Selim_Caravanserai, accessed 11 February 2013; Iakobson and Bachinskij, *Ocherk Istorii:* 108.

[55] Ünal, *Monuments islamiques:* 52–7; Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Erzurum Tarihi:* 292–6; Beygu, *Erzurum Tarihi:* 153–6.

[56] " 'an 'Alī raḍiya 'llāh 'anhu 'an 'l-nabī 'alayhi 'l-salām [man] ḥafaẓa 'alā umma arba'īn ḥadīthan kutiba fī zumra 'l-ulamā' [...] ilā 'llāh 'l-ghanī Aḥmad bin 'Alī bin Yūsuf fī sana arba' 'ashara [wa] sab'amā'ia," Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Erzurum Tarihi:* 294; Ünal, *Monuments islamiques:* 57.



3.12 Yakutiye Medrese, Erzurum, detail of portal, author's photograph

the 1960s that the building was restored and subsequently turned into a museum.[57] The foundation inscription on the main portal (Figure 3.12), just above the entrance to the building and beneath a *muqarnas* niche, makes reference to its patron:

> Jamāl al-Dīn Khwāja Yāqūt al-Ghāzānī ordered the construction of this tomb during the days of the rule of Uljāytū sulṭān—may God eternalize his rule—from the benefits of the benefaction of Sulṭān Ghāzān and Bulughān Khātūn[58] may God enlighten [their proof] in the year 710 (1310).[59]

As this inscription states, the Yakutiye Medrese was built in 710/ 1310. Very little is known about its patron, Jamāl al-Dīn Khwāja Yāqūt al-Ghāzānī. He may have been the Ilkhanid governor of Erzurum and Bayburt.[60] The *laqab* "al-Ghāzānī" included in the founder's name may explain the dedication of the building to Ghāzān Khān, by then deceased, along with the ruling Ilkhanid sultan Uljāytū. The *laqab* indicates a close connection to Ghāzān Khān, who may have been the founder's patron earlier—or even his owner, if Jamāl al-Dīn Yāqūt was a slave. In the inscription, the monument is designated a *'madfan'* (place of burial) rather than a madrasa. The emphasis on the building's initial function may refer to a burial—possibly that of its founder—in the mausoleum at the eastern end of the monument. This mausoleum, like that of the Çifte Minareli Medrese, is a circular structure with a conical roof that stands on the monument's longitudinal axis. However, unlike the Çifte Minareli Medrese's mausoleum, it is more closely integrated into the fabric of the building and was clearly part of the originally planned structure.

The plan of the Yakutiye Medrese (Figure 3.13) is based on a four-*īwān* layout, with one modification: a vestibule connected to the portal takes the place of the west *īwān.* The building measures roughly 22m × 35m, excluding the corner buttresses on the portal façade and the mausoleum attached to the east *īwān*. The portal leads into a vestibule that opens onto the rectangular courtyard, which is surrounded by the three *īwān*s and 14 chambers of various sizes. The two largest chambers are situated to either side of the east *īwān*, which is larger than the north and south *īwān*s. The northern of these two chambers has a large window in its eastern façade. There are two smaller chambers each on either side of the north and south *īwān*s, which are approximately equal in size, though the two chambers closest to the western side of the building have rounded corners at their southwestern and northwestern ends, respectively. This serves to leave room for the corridors that lead, through the corners of the courtyard, to the chambers in the northwest and southwest corners of the building. The chambers on either side of the vestibule are accessible only from this central entrance space, whereas the other chambers open onto the courtyard.

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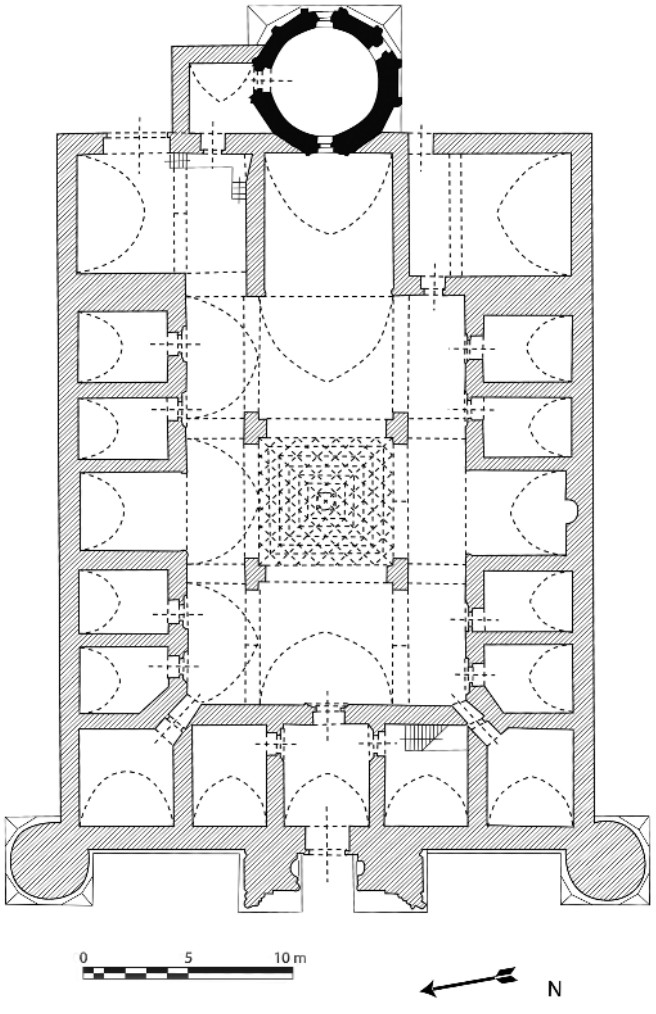
[57] Ünal, *Monuments islamiques:* 32.

[58] Bulughān Khātūn died on 8 Ṣafar 709/ 5 January 1310: al-Qāshānī, *Die Chronik des Qāšānī,* ed. and tr. Parvisi-Berger, 82. For the distinction between several Ilkhanid ladies of the same name: Charles Melville, "Bologān Ḵātūn," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/bologan-katun-the-name-of-three-of-the-royal-wives-of-the-mongol-il-khans-in-iran, accessed 4 June 2013.

[59] "Amara bi-'imāra hādh(ā) 'l-madfan fī ayyām dawla Uljāytū sulṭān khallada 'llāh mulkahū min fawāḍil in'ām 'l-sulṭān Ghāzān wa-Bulughān khātūn anāra 'llāh [burhānahimā] Jamāl al-Dīn Khwāja Yāqūt al-Ghāzānī fī sana 'ashara wa-sab'amā'ia." *RCEA*, no. 5276.

[60] Aflākī, *Arifler*in *Menkibleri*, tr. Yazıcı: 635–6; Ünal, *Monuments islamiques:* 48; Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Erzurum Tarihi:* 332–3.



3.13 Yakutiye Medrese, Erzurum, plan, redrawn after Kuran, *Anadolu Medreseleri*, Fig. 67 and Sözen, *Anadolu Medreseleri*, vol. 2, Fig. 1. Drawing by Deniz Coşkun

The chambers are not connected with each other or with the *īwān*s they flank. All chambers and *īwān*s are covered with barrel vaults.

A passage, now closed off, leads from the east *īwān* to the mausoleum, which juts out from the building's eastern façade. This circular chamber is connected on its northern side to a roughly square room, which is in turn connected to the chamber in the northeast corner of the building. In the center of the courtyard, four pointed arches form a square that serves as a support for the central dome, shallowly built up with rows of *muqarnas*. In the middle of the western façade of the Yakutiye Medrese, the decorated portal projects from the flat wall made of ashlar masonry. The circular minaret, which includes a winding staircase in its interior, projects outwards from the southwestern corner of the building. A partly blocked passage may once have led from the chamber at the southwestern corner to a staircase. At the northwestern corner, another circular structure projects from the building. The plan reveals no means of accessing it.

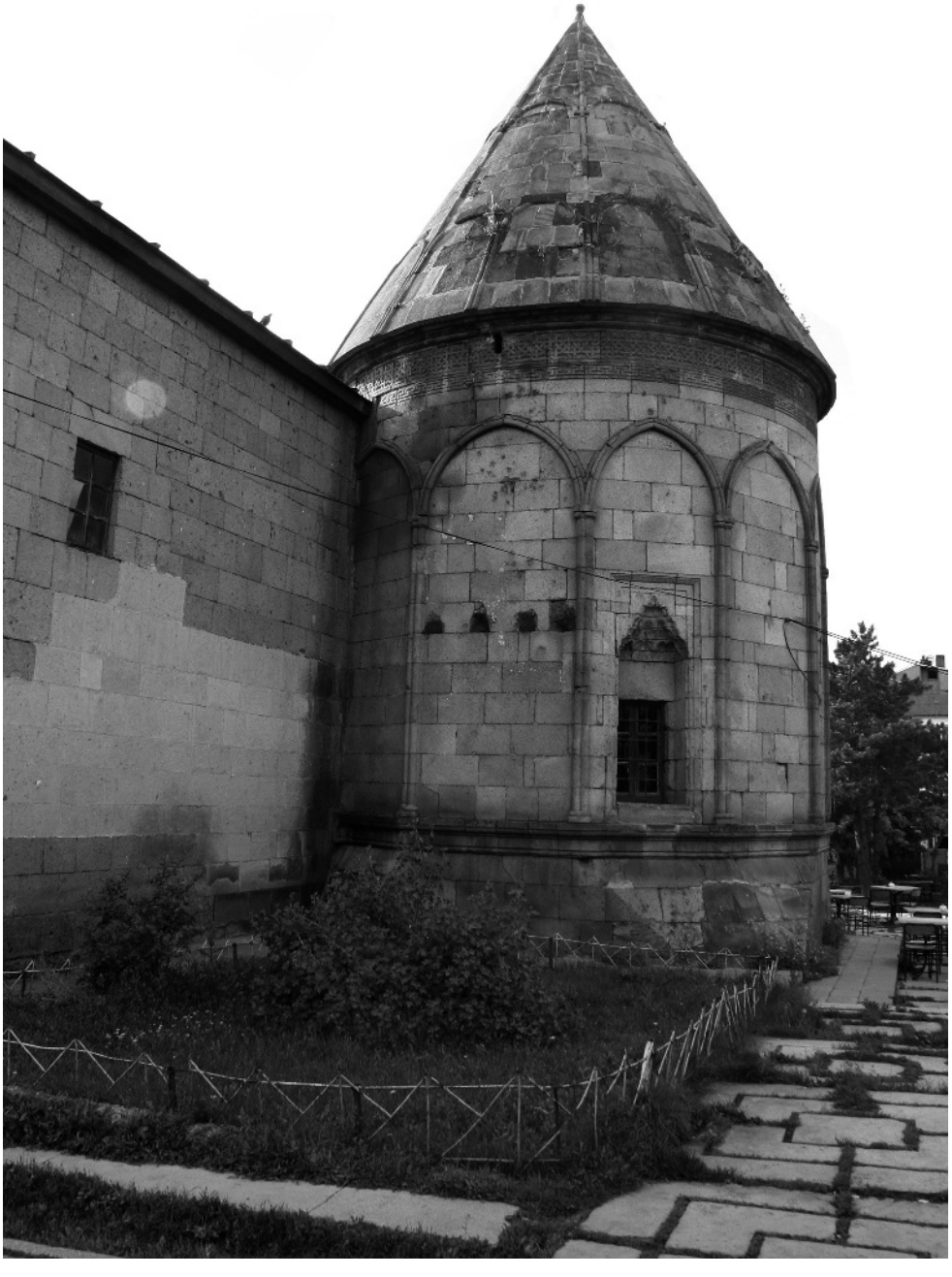
3.14 Yakutiye Medrese, Erzurum, figural decoration on outer face of portal, author's photograph

The structure of the portal frames is complex: there are a total of eight rectangular frames decorated with various motifs. Engaged colonnettes on either side of the portal close it off towards the entryway. The capitals of these colonnettes enclose the lintel, which bears parts of the foundation inscription. A decorative band, in the shape of a stilted arch and decorated with vegetal motifs, springs from the capitals. Its apex touches the tip of the *muqarnas* hood above the lintel. Fragments of an inscription are visible between the innermost portal frame and the stilted decorative arch.[61] A narrow *muqarnas* band runs below the lintel with the inscription. The doorway itself is rather low and narrow. Its frame is composed of a four-centered arch of stone blocks devoid of decoration, except for two leaves located where the arch springs. The spandrels between the arch and the lower lintel are decorated with vegetal motifs. Towards the undecorated part of the façade, the portal is closed off by corner columns, which rise to the full height of the building and are interrupted by capitals with *muqarnas* decoration about a third of the way up.

The sides of the projecting portal are also decorated with rich motifs carved into the stone. The two sides differ in terms of details, but the general structure of their decoration is the same. Figural decoration (Figure 3.14) fills the bottom third of the surface, up to the *muqarnas* capitals of the corner column. Two lions face each other under a palm tree beneath a pointed arch, framed with moldings. An eagle with spread wings, depicted frontally, occupies the space between the parted leaves of the palm tree and the apex of the arch. A medallion with floral decoration takes up the remaining space above the bird's head. The pointed arch springs from pineapple-shaped medallions located immediately above the small bench set into the lower part of the portal. A plain band, delineated by fine lines, encloses the inner side of each of these medallions and continues to form a four-pointed flower shape on both sides. This interlacing motif is missing from the right side of the portal, where only the central circular medallion is enclosed by two parallel lines that echo its shape. The majority of the space above this arch is decorated with a series of rectangular frames. The inner frame recedes slightly from the surface of the wall and has a different vegetal motif from that on the outer frame. A rectangular strip decorated with a geometric motif fills the gap below this inner frame.

The inner sides of the portal are also decorated. The decoration here repeats the layout of the portal: on each side, a niche placed beneath a *muqarnas* hood is flanked by engaged colonnettes and surrounded by rectangular frames with vegetal motifs. The niches are decorated with a geometric pattern. The engaged colonnettes are plain, but the capitals are decorated with vegetal motifs. In the center above the *muqarnas* hood there is a rectangular field with vegetal decoration, which is followed by a vegetal frame and a rectangular geometric field. Above this, the foundation inscription runs as a continuation of the lintel. It begins on the right portal wall, following the direction in which Arabic script is read, from right to left. Two plain moldings close off the bottom of the decorated zone of the portal, and there is no decoration on the low dado below them.

[61] The inscription is barely legible today, but in the 1960s Konyalı suggested the following reading of parts of it: "al-ṣalaw[ā]t ʿalā Muḥammad ʿalayhi ʾl-salām amara ʾl-amīr... ʾl-ʿālim ʾl-ʿādil nāṣir ʾl-amīr... ʿalayhi ʾl-salām ʾl-ʿadl [...]" Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Erzurum Tarihi*: 304. (In English: "prayers for Muḥammad—may peace be upon him—the ... wise and just *amīr* ordered, the supporter of the *amīr*... may peace be upon him, justice...").



3.15 Yakutiye Medrese, Erzurum, mausoleum, author's photograph

3.16 Yakutiye Medrese, Erzurum, *muqarnas* dome, author's photograph

The only other decoration on the building's exterior is on the mausoleum (Figure 3.15). Its dado has projecting triangles on two sides, which make the rounded shape appear more angular. Two plain moldings separate the dado from the circular section of the mausoleum. The mausoleum's exterior is articulated with a series of four full and two half pointed arches with double moldings and small imposts where the arches spring. Above these arches, two geometric bands circle the building: a lower, wider band stops where the mausoleum is connected to the main body of the madrasa, while an upper, narrow one runs full-circle just below the roofline. Two small windows are set in rectangular niches in two of the full pointed arches and surmounted by *muqarnas* hoods. The conical roof is covered with tiles that depict two rows of ornamental arches.

One striking aspect of the Yakutiye Medrese is the inclusion of references to several local monuments, in both the building's structure and its decoration. The only light that enters the dark interior of the madrasa comes from a small skylight in the middle of the courtyard, at the center of a *muqarnas* dome. This dome (Figure 3.16) ties the Yakutiye Medrese to the Great Mosque of Erzurum, built in the late twelfth century.[62] In the latter monument, a *muqarnas* dome made of stone covers one of the intersections between the central nave leading to the *miḥrāb* and the horizontal divisions in the courtyard.[63] The Kale Camii includes a few shallow rows of *muqarnas* at the base of the interior of its dome—a feature that could be considered similar to the use of this

[62] On the symbolic implications of this architectural feature, see: Yasser Tabbaa, "The Muqarnas Dome: Its Origin and Meaning," *Muqarnas* 3 (1984): 61–74.

[63] Plan in Ünal, *Monuments islamiques:* Fig. 10.

motif in the interior of monuments in connection with a dome. The placement of the mausoleum on the monument's longitudinal axis and the way its cylindrical form juts out partially from the back wall corresponds to the arrangement in the Çifte Minareli Medrese. This type of layout has been noted as a feature of Ilkhanid funerary architecture in Iran; while no examples have survived, the mausoleum of Rashīd al-Dīn in a suburb of Tabriz seems to have corresponded to this scheme, though in this case the mausoleum was connected to a mosque rather than to a madrasa.[64]

The Yakutiye Medrese's brick minaret, with its decoration of pieces of purple and turquoise tile, is probably also a reference to the Çifte Minareli Medrese. The minaret's placement is different, of course—in the corner of the monument rather than on its portal— suggesting that there was probably only one minaret, rather than a pair, from the outset. The minaret points to an explicitly intended connection in terms of the spatial relationship between the two monuments. They are not within view of each other, and while the portal of the Çifte Minareli Medrese points north, the entrance to the Yakutiye Medrese faces west. However, by taking up the same material and decoration of the Çifte Minareli Medrese's pair of minarets, in addition to those of the mausoleum, the Yakutiye Medrese's minaret draws a direct connection between these two monuments. An earlier minaret, the so-called Tepsi Minare on the citadel, possibly connected to the Kale Camii, serves as an additional point of reference (Figure 3.17).

The Yakutiye Medrese's inclusion of local references points to an increased use of local styles in eastern Anatolia by the early fourteenth century, as also seen in the three madrasas in Sivas discussed in Chapter 2. Thus, when the monuments of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries are studied from a 'Seljuk' perspective, the influence of the Mongol conquest does not appear to have been as destabilizing as one might initially suspect.[65] Rather, this period is strongly marked by architectural aspects that show the extent to which Anatolia was diverse and changing at the time, even as local identities were fostered.

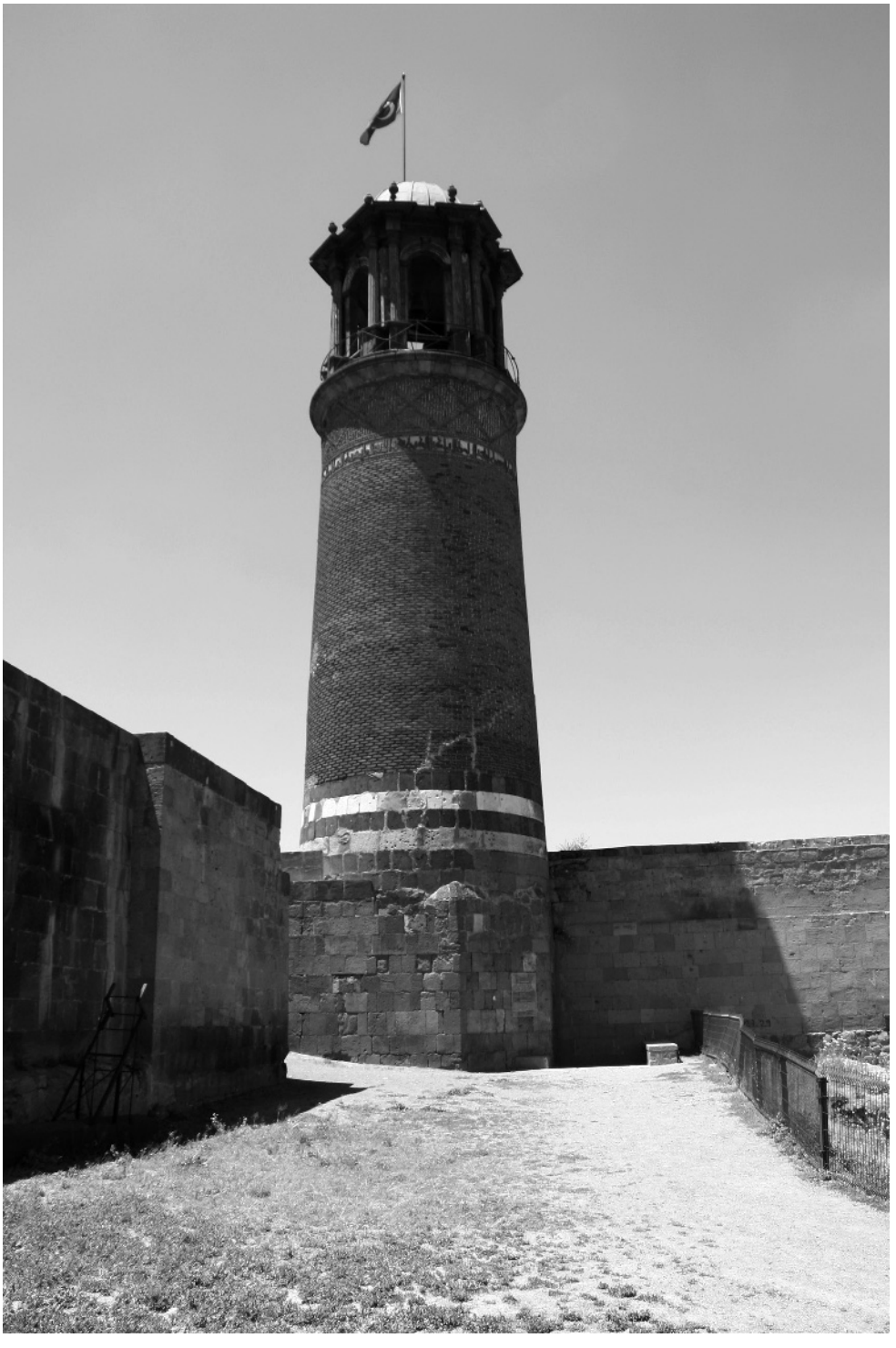
References to earlier monuments in the same city are more prominent in Erzurum than in Sivas, which may suggest that workshops remained more stationary in the early fourteenth century than in previous decades, as opportunities for patronage became concentrated in the area between northeastern Anatolia and western Iran. Around 1300, the main centers for construction in the region were, of course, near Tabriz, the Ilkhanid capital under Ghāzān Khān, and in the newly founded city of Sulṭāniya under Uljāytū.[66] Another of Ghāzān Khān's foundations, built at an unknown date in the vicinity of Tabriz, is no longer preserved, except in Rashīd al-Dīn's description. According to his historian-vizier, Ghāzān Khān founded the complex, called *abwāb al-birr* (doors of piety), consisting of a mosque, two madrasas, a *khānqāh*, a house for *sayyid*s, an observatory, a hospital, a library, a room for tax papers, a cistern, and a bathhouse.[67] None of this complex remains today; Rashīd al-Dīn records that Ghāzān

[64] Hoffmann, *Waqf:* 123; Blair, "Ilkhanid architecture and society:" 74–6.

[65] As in: Nermin Şaman Doğan, "Bezemeye Bakış: Anadolu'da İlhanlı izleri," *Hacettepe Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 20.1 (2003): 150–66.

[66] Blair, "Ilkhanid architecture and society"; Sheila Blair, "The Mongol capital of Sulṭāniyya, 'the Imperial'," *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 24 (1986): 139–51.

[67] Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jami' u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles—A History of the Mongols,* tr. Thackston, vol. 3: 686.



3.17 Tepsi Minare, Erzurum, author's photograph

Khān was buried in a domed mausoleum at the *abwāb al-birr* complex, following his death on 11 Shawwāl 703/ 17 May 1304.[68] While the complex itself has not survived, parts of its *waqfiya* were recorded, showing the various funds allotted to education, charity, and building repairs.[69] Surrounding this complex, in the Tabriz suburb of Shamb-i Ghāzānī, Ghāzān Khān ordered the construction of a city called Ghāzānīya.[70]

Equally—if not more—ambitious was the foundation of the vizier Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb, who constructed and endowed an entire suburb of Tabriz, known as the *Rab'-i Rashīdī*. These monuments were looted and destroyed after their founder was executed in 1318, leaving no trace. Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb, also known as Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl-allāh, was born to a Jewish family in Hamadān around 645/ 1247. He received medical training and later converted to Islam. Rashīd al-Dīn was a court physician under the Ilkhanid ruler Abāqā Khān. In 697/ 1298, he became a vizier under Ghāzān Khān. In 718/ 1318, he was executed on charges of having tried to poison the ruling sultan, Uljāytū. In addition to serving as a politician, Rashīd al-Dīn also wrote the *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh*, a major historical work on the Mongol rule, as well as a universal history beginning with the creation of the world.[71]

The endowment of the *Rab'-i Rashīdī* reflected its patron's wealth and power. None of the architecture has survived, and though the location of the site is known it has not been excavated.[72] The extent of the site and the financial information recorded in the *waqf-nāme* clearly show a use of resources that simply were not available on the same scale in eastern Anatolia. Indeed, architecture in eastern Anatolia was increasingly localized, now that the most extensive foundations were no longer being built there. As a result, in Erzurum, the local references to neighboring Armenia remain in the fourteenth century, while connections to Iran are barely apparent in the architecture. While in Ilkhanid Iran in the early fourteenth century, large-scale monuments in brick were built and adorned in stucco and tile decoration, this was not the case in Erzurum.[73] Only the addition of the minaret in the Yakutiye Medrese, built in brick with glazed tile decoration, may evoke this imperial Ilkhanid architecture. For the most part, however, the fourteenth-century buildings are strongly rooted in local Armenian architecture. These connections are especially apparent in the construction technique, with its emphasis on heavy yet carefully hewn ashlar masonry and carved decoration. Probably, Armenian masons were still employed, and they used the same techniques as their predecessors in the twelfth century who built the Saltukid mosques in Erzurum.

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[68] Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jami' u't-tawarikh,* vol. 3: 662.

[69] Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jami' u't-tawarikh,* vol. 3: 686–7.

[70] "He also ordered another city larger than the encompassment of Old Tabriz built in Shamb (also called Shamm), where the Abwabu'l-birr was constructed, in such a way that it encompassed the Abwabu'l-birr and most of its gardens. He called it Ghāzānia, and he ordered that merchants coming from Anatolia and Europe unload there, but the customs official for there and the city of Tabriz is the same lest there be dispute." Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jami' u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles—A History of the Mongols,* tr. Thackston, vol. 3: 684.

[71] David O. Morgan, "Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/rashid-al-din-tabib-SIM_6237, accessed 20 February 2014; Hoffmann, *Waqf:* 59–91.

[72] For a reconstruction of the site plan based on textual sources including the *waqf-nāme*, see: Blair, "Ilkhanid architecture and society:" 68 and Hoffmann, *Waqf:* 117–29.

[73] The best survey of Ilkhanid architecture in Iran remains Wilber, *Architecture of Islamic Iran.*

Moreover, the absence of references to Ilkhanid architecture in Iran, where the foundations of the sultan Uljāytū were built contemporaneously, is more than obvious—with the possible exception of the brick minarets, which were as Anatolian as they were Iranian by this point. Materials favored in Iran, particularly brick and stucco, were not used in eastern Anatolia. It is difficult to trace the reasons for this development, but perhaps the most mobile workshops flocked to the monumental building sites in the new Ilkhanid capital of Sulṭānīye rather than moving to Anatolia, where there was no large-scale employment at the time. In Erzurum, we clearly see that a local tradition of architecture persists from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, suggesting that workshops here remained in place, rather than moving to the central construction sites (Konya in the early thirteenth century, Tabriz and Sulṭānīye in the early fourteenth century). The regional architectural identity of Anatolia, based on stone construction, was firmly established by this point, while in Iran brick-and-tile construction was similarly ingrained. Rather than being uniform, however, the architectural style in Anatolia was characterized by major urban centers that functioned according to their own terms within broader patterns, as can be seen in the differences that emerged between cities. Moreover, the cities' connection to the surrounding countryside, and the patrons' ties to the locations where they founded their monuments, were also crucial.

An inscription in the Yakutiye Medrese, which records parts of its *waqfīya*, gives some indication of the politics of place and memory involved in creating an architecture strongly connected both to the immediate locale of construction—that is, the city itself—and to a wider region that shared an architectural, and to some extent cultural, identity, often across political and religious lines. Thus, the madrasa's *waqf* inscription (discussed in detail below) connects the building to the Muslim establishment of Erzurum, but also to the city and surrounding villages, which may have had a substantial Christian population. The architecture itself contains Islamic elements such as a *miḥrāb*, indicating the direction of prayer, and a minaret, yet the building's courtyard is covered with a *muqarnas* dome much like the two examples found at the monastery of Geghard in Armenia.[74] It is this hybrid use of elements, which may point to certain identities while remaining ambiguous, that is so characteristic of Anatolia in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and that finds its particular, locally rooted expression in Erzurum. The *waqf* inscription in the Yakutiye Medrese provides a textual record of some of these practices of memory and identity formation.

The *waqf* inscription in the Yakutiye Medrese

The patron of the Yakutiye Medrese, Jamāl al-Dīn Khwājā Yāqūt, has left few traces besides this monument in Erzurum. Yet despite the absence of other written testimony, an inscription in the Yakutiye Medrese provides a unique source of information about the patron and his monuments, as well as the surrounding landscape. In the south *īwān*

[74] Built in 1215–25 and 1283, respectively: see above, n. 49.

of this monument, a large inscription composed of two lines of cursive script runs along the two lateral walls. A *miḥrāb* placed at the back wall of the *īwān* indicates the direction of prayer, the *qibla* (Figure 3.18). The inscription is a rare example—in Anatolia at least—of the rendering of the *waqfiya* on the building to which it pertains. Indeed, it is the only extant *waqf* inscription in eastern Anatolia that conveys such a degree of detail about the endowment. In western Anatolia, in Seyitgazi near Eskişehir, a late fourteenth-century inscription records the addition of property to the *waqf* of Sayyid Battal Gazi by Kurd Abdal. The patron was the son of the Germiyanid ruler Süleyman Şah b. Mehmed (r. 764–80/ 1363–78); the inscription is in Turkish.[75] The practice of including information about an endowment was more common in Ayyubid Syria, where extracts from *waqfiya*s frequently appear as part of foundation inscriptions, rather than as individual texts. The inscription on the portal of the Madrasa Sha'mīya in Damascus (628/ 1231), for example, clearly states that the madrasa was dedicated to the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*, and lists villages and agricultural lands endowed to ensure its upkeep.[76]

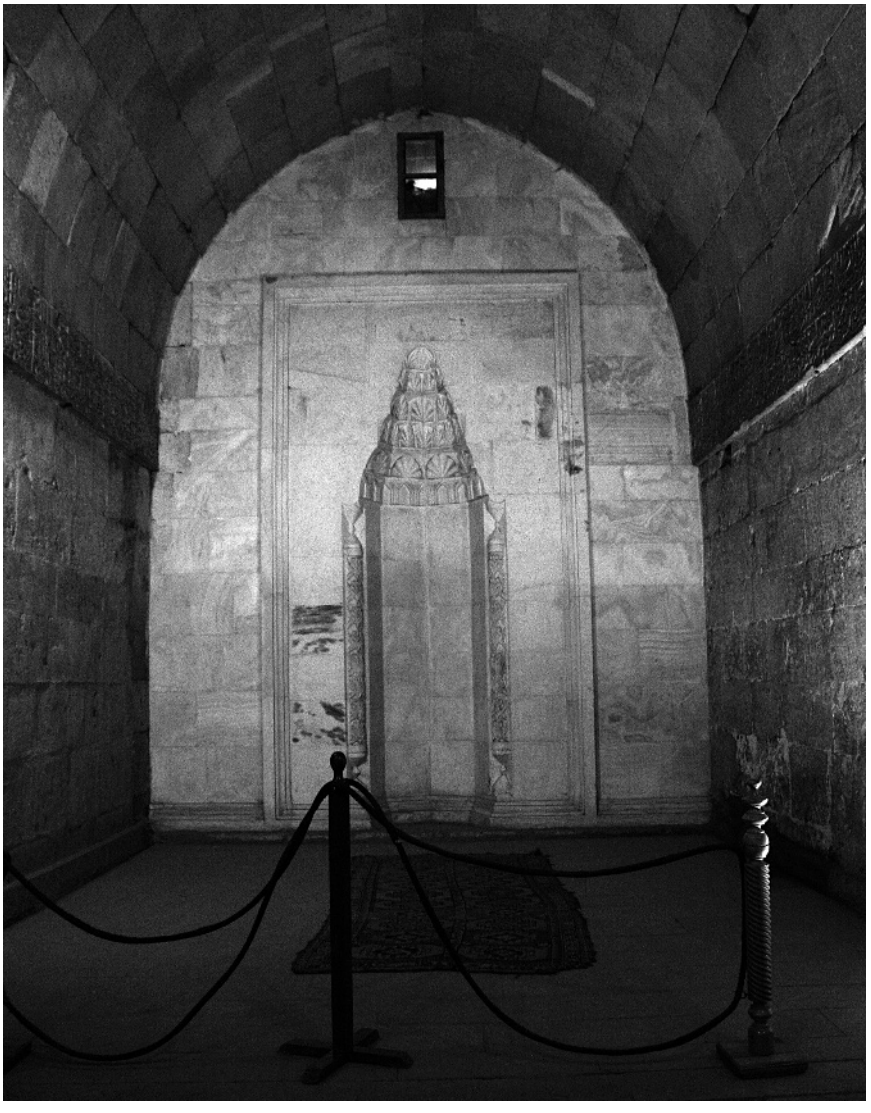
Like the Ayyubid examples in northern Mesopotamia, the inscription on the Yakutiye Medrese is in Arabic and mentions the founder as well as several villages that were endowed to provide the building with revenue. The inscription is much more detailed than the short passages of the *waqfiya* of the Buruciye Medrese in Sivas, which are included in the medallions in the building's courtyard. Moreover, due to the fact that the Yakutiye Medrese is not mentioned in chronicles, the *waqfiya* is the most important primary source on the monument. The complete texts states:

> [West wall] The mention of the name of God All High is a sublime act that must come before all things—The great master Jamāl al-Dīn Khwājā Yāqūt—may his victory be ennobled—ordered the construction of this noble building during the days of the greatest sultan Uljāytū—may God perpetuate his rule—from the benefits of the benefaction of the felicitous sultan Ghāzān and of Bulghān Khātūn 'l-Khurāsānīya, may God enlighten their proof and rest them in peace, and he [Jamāl al-Dīn Khwājā Yāqūt] endowed for its [the building's] benefit all of the villages and lands, among them the village Ḥartanf[77] and the village Kinfangk in the province Bāsīn, and the villages Sunganārij and Tawārij in the district of Erzurum, and all of the great khans, stores, the two baths, vegetable garden, and soap-works...
>
> [East wall] and the khans for the whole suburb and the one mill in the aforementioned city and all the villages that are in the district of Bayburt, which are Ḥāratun and Karzū and Faqā'ī and Ermenā and Hinzawarak and Hawābis and Meraks, and the well-known baths that the founder built in Bayburt as a true, lawful, and eternal endowment, which may not be sold, nor inherited, nor given as a pawn, nor exchanged, but must be used according to the endowment's clauses,

[75] Yürekli, "Legend and Architecture in the Ottoman Empire:" 111–2.

[76] (Basmala) hādhihi 'l-madrasa 'l-khātūn 'l-kubrā 'l-ajalla 'iṣmat 'l-mulūk wa-l-salāṭīn Sitt al-Shām Umm Ḥusām al-Dīn bint Ayyūb bin Shādhī raḥimahā 'llāh ta'ālā wa-wālidayhā waqfun 'alā 'l-'ulamā' 'l-mutafaqqiha min aṣḥāb 'l-imām 'l-Shāfi'ī raḍiya 'llāhu 'anhu wa 'l-mawqūf 'alayhā wa 'alayhim mā yatba'u jamī'a 'l-qariya 'l-ma'rūfa bi-Turayba wa-jamī'a 'l-ḥaṣṣa 'l-shā'i'a wa-hiya iḥdā 'ashara shamanin wa-niṣf min arba'a 'ashrīn shamanin wa-jamī'a 'l-mazra'a bi-Jarmānā wa-jamī'a 'l-ḥaṣṣa arba'a 'ashara shamanin wa sab'a sahmin min aṣl arba'a 'ashrīn shaman mina 'l-qariya 'l-ma'rūfa bil-Tayna wa-niṣfa 'l-qariya 'l-ma'rūfa bi-Mujandal al-Suwaydā' wa-jamī'a 'l-qariya 'l-ma'rūfa bi-Mujandal al-farqa fī shahr Ramaḍāni 'l-mu'aẓẓam sanata thamān wa-'ashrīn wa-sittamā'ia," *RCEA*, no. 4025.

[77] The names of the villages are difficult to read and have been rendered variously in publications of the inscriptions. I rely here on Ünal, *Monuments islamiques:* 49–51.



3.18 Yakutiye Medrese, Erzurum, *miḥrāb* and *waqf* inscription, author's photograph

and must respect the designated expenses and the appropriate conditions (of the endowment) as stated in the *waqfiya* that is recorded in the records of the judges who have ruled on it [the *waqfiya*] in the face of the exalted God; verily God does not let perish a recompense from a[...] and God is merciful on those who found and appoint and pray for its founder, but he who strives for its abolishment and spends on things other than those recorded in its [the *waqf*'s] conditions, upon him is the curse of God and the companion angels and of the sent prophets and of all people until the Day of Judgment.[78]

[78] In Arabic: West wall: (1) Dhakara 'llahu a'lā wa-bi-taqdīm ulā amara bi-'imāra hādhihi 'l-buq'a 'l-sharīfa fī ayyām dawla 'l-sulṭān 'l-a'ẓam Uljāytū sulṭān khallada 'llāhu mulkahū min fawāḍil in'ām 'l-sulṭāni 'l-sa'īd Ghāzān wa-Bulghān Khātūn al-Khurāsānīya anāra 'llāhu burhānahimā wa-ṭāba tharāhimā (2) 'l-mawlā 'l-mu'aẓẓam Jamāl al-Dīn Khwāja Yāqūt 'azza naṣruhū wa waqafa

The text mentions several villages in the region of Erzurum and Bayburt endowed for the benefit of the Yakutiye Medrese. Konyalı attempted to identify these with modern place names, with limited success.[79] The fact that these villages are located in the districts of Erzurum and Bayburt, as indicated in the text, is in accordance with the suggestion, noted earlier, that Jamāl al-Dīn Khwājā Yāqūt was governor of these two cities. The urban properties assigned to the *waqf*—namely bathhouses, a mill, a soap-factory, and a garden—are located in these cities as well. The reference to the baths in Bayburt being built at the behest of the same founder is the only other known reference to his patronage apart from the construction of the Yakutiye Medrese.

In terms of the building's function, the *waqf* inscription provides a further hint that the monument might not have been conceived as a madrasa at the time of its construction: unlike other examples of *waqf* inscriptions (such as the previously discussed inscription in the Buruciye Medrese in Sivas) and *waqf* documents relating to madrasas, the text does not make any mention of the personnel appointed to the building, nor does it refer to the monument's function. Rather, the text uses the neutral *buq'a* (building). Nevertheless, the building's plan, like that of the Çifte Minareli Medrese, points strongly to its identification as a madrasa.

Despite the details given in the *waqf* inscription, it should not be seen as a substitute for the actual legal document. Only the paper version of a *waqfiya* bore the signatures of the witnesses and kadi (judge), which were necessary to legitimize the document—and thus the *waqf*. The process of legalizing the *waqfiya* required the presence of a set number of witnesses and the approval of a judge, who had to ascertain that none of the lands on which the main building was constructed, or which were connected to the endowment, had been appropriated illegally.[80] Consequently, the inscription may have served more as a reminder of the foundation—the carving in stone serving as a metaphor for the perpetuity of the endowment as stipulated and required by law. However, it is also possible to consider the inscription as a document that recorded the connection between the founder, the city in which the monument was built, and the properties in the surrounding region designated to support the monument's upkeep.[81] In this case, the inscription becomes a monument to the founder's intention, as well as a reflection of how he saw his (or his overlords')

'alā maṣlaḥatihā jamī'a 'l-qurā wa-l-'aqāri fa-minhā qariya Hartīf [Hertenf] wa-qariya Kingh-fānk bi-wilāya Bāsīn wa-qariya Sunganārij wa-Tawārij bi-qaṣaba Arẓān al-Rūm wa-jamī' 'l-khān 'l-kabīra wa 'l-ḥawānīt wa 'l-ḥammāmayn wa 'l-mabqala wa 'l-maṣbana.

East wall: (1) wa 'l-khānīn li-rabaṭ 'l-jimāl wa-l-ṭāḥūna 'l-wāḥida fī 'l-madīna ['l-] madhkūra wa-jamī'a 'l-qurā 'l-kā'nāt bi-qaṣaba Bayburt wa huwa ḥāratun wa Karzū (?) wa-Faqā'ī wa Ermenā wa-Hınzaverek wa-Havabis wa-Meraks wa-jamī'u 'l-hammāmīn 'l-ma'rūfīn bi-inshā' 'l-wāqif 'l-madhkūr ayḍan bi-Bayburt wafqan ṣaḥīḥan shar'īyan mukhalladan lā yubā'u wa-lā yūritha wa-lā yurhina wa-lā yutabaddilu (2) bal yujrī 'alā minwālihi wa-taṣrifu maṣārifahū 'l-mu'ayyana wa 'l-shurūṭ 'l-mazbūra fī 'l-waqfīya 'l-musajjala bi-sijil 'l-quḍāt 'l-maḥkūma bihā li-wajh 'llāh ta'ālā inna 'llāha lā yuḍī'u ajr min a[...] fa-raḥima 'llāhu man aqarra wa-rataba wa-da'ā li-wāqifihī wa-man sa'ā fī ibṭālihī wa-taṣrifu bi-ghayr sharṭihī fa-'alayhi la'na 'llāh wa 'l-malā'ika 'l-muqarrabīn wa-l-anbiyā' 'l-mursalīn wa-l-nāsi ajma'īn ilā 'l-yawm 'l-dīn." Ünal, *Monuments islamiques,* 49–51 and Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Erzurum Tarihi,* 323–6; *RCEA*, no. 5277 only gives the first part of the inscription, written on the western wall of the *qibla īwān.*

79 Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Erzurum Tarihi*: 325–9.

80 On the procedure of legalizing a *waqf* document, see Hoffmann, *Waqf:* 33–5.

81 I thank Professor Shahzad Bashir for this suggestion.

connection to the lands in question. It may not be by chance that *waqf* inscriptions in eastern Anatolia appeared after the Mongol conquest; it is possible that they served as a mark of ownership on the part of the new rulers' representatives in a region where this hold was often contested. The presence of the inscription also points to the skill involved in planning this building: *waqfiya*s in medieval Anatolia were often not written out until the monument was completed, or even several years thereafter. Thus, the inscription must have been planned from the outset, and added once the document was established and recorded.

The mention of the records of the kadi-court (*sijill al-quḍāt*) in the inscription represents a rare reference to judicial records. While very common for Ottoman courts from the early modern period onwards, such documents are so rare for the medieval period that even their form is not clear. Assumptions about earlier court registers have often been made based on Ottoman court records (*şer'iyye sicilleri*), yet this direct derivation is not necessarily correct.[82] In any event, though the exact form of these early fourteenth-century court records remains unknown, this reference, carved in stone and mentioning the recording of the *waqf* in the court records, provides a striking inter-textual reference. Moreover, the notation in the court records would probably only have recorded the transaction of establishing the *waqf*. The full text of the *waqfiya*, however—which also would have included a detailed description of the location of the endowed properties, the beneficiaries of these properties, the *mutawallī* (overseer, administrator) appointed to administer the endowment and his possible successors, and the signatures of witnesses—would have been written down in a separate document.[83] Consequently, the record in the building itself—the inscription—may have served to provide additional security by reproducing the essential passages of the deed of endowment and referring to the foundation's legal record, thus combining these separate elements in one, physically secure, place.

In short, the inscription may have served as a reminder of the foundation within the building that it supported. In this way, the founder's memory is emphasized even more strongly than in a mere foundation inscription; the connection between the architecture and *waqfiya* through an inscription, while not legally valid, is a powerful visual evocation of the founder's acts. The founder's memory was thus doubly evoked—in the foundation inscription as well as in the passages from the building's *waqfiya*—minimizing the gravity of the absence of an inscription on the mausoleum, as well as the latter's visual disconnection from the interior of the building. After all, the mausoleum takes center stage in the foundation inscription, which refers to the entire monument as a place of burial.

In visual terms, the *waqf* inscription is a prominent decorative feature in the interior of a monument otherwise devoid of inscriptions and containing minimal decoration.[84] The inscription's placement on the side walls of the *qibla īwān* ensured that visitors were more likely to see the text and appreciate the intricate calligraphy

[82] Wael Hallaq, "The 'qāḍī's dīwān (sijill)' before the Ottomans," *BSOAS* 61. 3 (1998): 415–36.

[83] For a rare example of a surviving medieval document, see the photographs of the Karatay *waqfiya* in Turan, "Selçuklu devri vakfiyeleri III:" plates XI–XXV.

[84] See my discussion of the inscription as part of an itinerary through the building: Blessing, "Allegiance, Praise and Space:" 438–40.

of the inscription's two intertwined lines. The foundation inscription on the façade and the *waqf* inscription in the interior stand alone in their respective locations, with no direct rapport between them beyond the mention of the founder's name.

The mausoleum, connected to the back wall of the monument, is not incorporated into the inscription program, which focuses exclusively on the *waqfīya*, an essential text that attests to the generosity, wealth, and piety of the founder. Instead, the fact that the foundation inscription on the portal monument designates it as a place of burial creates a direct link between the monument's function, the actual burial structure, and the foundation inscription. This relationship is primarily rhetorical, extending the reference to burial across most of the monument; the connection is not established in visual terms, since a viewer reading the inscription over the portal is unable to see the mausoleum. As a result, the founder becomes the dominant element in the inscription program, his piety and charity included in the *waqf* inscription, which, in addition to evoking him as an individual, also indicates his connection to Erzurum and the surrounding region, thereby linking an Ilkhanid governor to the western edge of the empire in whose name he acted. This connection, and specific references to Erzurum and its past, are not only present in the *waqf* inscription, but also—perhaps even more strikingly—in the architecture itself.

Local references and urban space

The Yakutiye Medrese contains conspicuous references to several earlier buildings, including the Kale Camii, Ulu Camii, and Çifte Minareli Medrese. In fact, the Yakutiye Medrese evokes all the important buildings that pre-date it, taking the kind of play of references within a city, such as we have already seen in Sivas, to new heights. These references are analyzed below, followed by a discussion of how the four aforementioned monuments, along with the Ahmediye Medrese and Erzurum's many freestanding mausolea, were all integrated into a single urban space.

In architectural and stylistic terms, the Yakutiye Medrese is a useful point of reference for dating the Çifte Minareli Medrese. The façade decoration of the Yakutiye Medrese, with its *muqarnas* portal and carved portal decorations, makes this early fourteenth-century monument seem like a smaller copy of the Çifte Minareli Medrese. Consequently, it is likely that the Çifte Minareli Medrese was built first—indeed, its large scale would be unusual in Anatolia in the early fourteenth century. At 30 m × 45 m, the Çifte Minareli Medrese is larger than most madrasas built in medieval Anatolia; roughly contemporary buildings, including the Sırçalı Medrese and Karatay Medrese, both in Konya, measure about 25 m × 30 m. On the one hand, the large size may illustrate the Ilkhanid tendency towards monumental construction that is so obvious in Iranian monuments, such as the mausoleum of Sultan Uljāytū in Sulṭānīye near Tabriz (Plate 7), built in 701–12/ 1302–12. On the other, assuming a late date for the Çifte Minareli Medrese based solely on its size is problematic since, beginning around 1300, the tendency was to build much smaller structures, such as mausolea and *khānqāhs*.

The differences in the details of the compositions of the Çifte Minareli Medrese and Yakutiye Medrese are marked, again suggesting that they were constructed by different workshops several decades apart. The frontal view of the Yakutiye Medrese's portal block is dominated by the various motifs on the frames that decorate the salient section around the doorway. In the Çifte Minareli Medrese, the dominant elements are large palm motifs that spring from a pair of dragonheads at the bottom of the façade; the thick moldings that form a frame over this motif also take precedence over the floral patterns of the central frames. In the Yakutiye Medrese, the palm-and-animal motif featuring lions at the base of palm trees is located on the front of the portal block, whereas in the Çifte Minareli Medrese dragons appear on the sides of the portal block. The Yakutiye Medrese's façade, unlike that of the Çifte Minareli Medrese, is not structured beyond the central portal. While the minaret pair placed over the portal of the Çifte Minareli Medrese has been attributed to Iranian influence in attempts to narrow down the date of the monument, the single minaret on the corner of the Yakutiye Medrese has sometimes been interpreted as the remaining one of a pair, possibly pointing to further imitation of the earlier madrasa.[85] However, the minaret of the Yakutiye Medrese may also be a local reference to the so-called Tepsi Minare, a fragment of a twelfth-century minaret on the citadel, which was later turned into a clock tower. A fragmentary inscription written in kufic letters and inserted in glazed tile into the brick of the minaret refers to Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Inanj Bayghū Alp Ṭughrulbek Abū Muẓaffar Ghāzī b. Abī 'l-Qāsim, a member of the Saltukid clan in the early twelfth century.[86] Thus, the Yakutiye Medrese's minaret refers to monuments in Erzurum on several levels, consciously establishing local connections that may serve to demonstrate a link between the Ilkhanid governor and the place of his appointment, and perhaps aiming to reshape his identity (or at least the representation thereof) according to local parameters. At the same time, on another, more abstract level, the references may reach beyond Erzurum to both the center of Ilkhanid rule in Iran and to early monuments in Konya and Sivas, seen in Chapters 1 and 2.

Another crucial point in dating the Çifte Minareli Medrese is the alignment of the mausoleum with the axis of the main *īwān*. In her study of the endowment of the Ilkhanid vizier Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb (d. 718/ 1318), Sheila Blair has suggested that this configuration is particular to Ilkhanid architecture.[87] It has also been suggested that the mausoleum of the Çifte Minareli Medrese was an afterthought, a hypothesis that may indeed corroborate a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century date for this part of the monument. In the Yakutiye Medrese, the mausoleum was clearly part of the initial project since the foundation inscription refers to the building as a *madfan* (place of burial) rather than as a madrasa.

Nevertheless, it is more likely that the architect of the Yakutiye Medrese was making a reference to the Çifte Minareli Medrese as it stands today than that the addition to the latter was made after the Yakutiye Medrese was built. This hypothesis

[85] Rahmi Hüseyn Ünal, *Erzurum Yakutiye Medresesi*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1992: 45.

[86] Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Erzurum Tarihi:* 137–41; Ünal, *Monuments islamiques:* 26–7; Sümer, "Saltuklular:" 403.

[87] Blair, "Ilkhanid architecture and society:" 77.

is corroborated by a further local reference in the Yakutiye Medrese—the shallow *muqarnas* dome at the center of the courtyard, a feature that may have been derived from the covering of the courtyard of the Great Mosque of Erzurum, a Saltukid structure. Thus, the builder (or the patron) of the Yakutiye Medrese clearly had a taste for local connections. This fits in well with the tendency towards local styles within Anatolia from the second half of the thirteenth century onwards. Moreover, it shows a sense of appreciation for local history among the builders of medieval Erzurum, even if the driving forces behind it remain unknown to date.

The decoration of the portal of the Yakutiye Medrese, in particular the two facing lions and eagle, both on the portal's lateral faces, further connect the monument to the region. Such depictions of animals are quite common on Islamic monuments in Anatolia, in particularly on city walls, but also on the portals of madrasas and mosques, including the Great Mosque of Divriği, where several birds are carved onto the portal frames.[88] On religious buildings, they only appear on the exterior, and are often thought to have had an apotropaic function; fragments from the city walls of Konya, dating to the 1220s, have been placed in such a context. Similar depictions of animals, and even humans, in low relief were very common in Armenian architecture, for instance in the thirteenth-century first cave church at the monastery of Geghard, and on the church of the Holy Cross at Aghtamar in Lake Van, a tenth-century monument. In Erzurum, the figural motifs on the Yakutiye Medrese and Çifte Minareli Medrese are a connection to this wider usage in Anatolia, and in particular in Armenia, where such elements were more extensively used.

The reliefs are only one of several local and regional references in the Yakutiye Medrese, some of which point to monuments in the city, others to buildings in the wider region, including present-day Armenia. In the *gavit*s (narthexes) of medieval monastery churches in Armenia, similarly elaborate vaulting techniques are often used, in particular to cover the central square of structures built on a nine-bayed plan.[89] In the *gavit'* of the monastery of Geghard in Armenia, built in 1215–25, a *muqarnas* dome covers the central bay, supported by four columns (Figure 3.19); another, similar dome can be found in the cave church at the same site, built in 1283.[90] A shallower *muqarnas* appears in the *gavit* of the monastery of Noravank', built around 1260.[91] Similarly, the placement of a tower-like lantern over the center of the twelfth-century Kale Camii in Erzurum recalls a similar element in Armenian churches, where such lanterns often appear over the center of cross-in-square plans. The interior view of the dome of the Kale Camii, with its border of very shallow *muqarnas*, is probably an idiosyncratic solution, since Armenian examples don't usually include decoration in the area immediately surrounding the inner base of the dome. The blind arches on both buildings are similar to those of the mausolea in Erzurum, including those of the Çifte Minareli Medrese and Yakutiye Medrese.

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88 For more about such reliefs in Islamic architecture in Anatolia, see: Gierlichs, *Mittelalterliche Tierreliefs*.

89 Ghazarian and Ousterhout, "A Muqarnas Drawing from Thirteenth-Century Armenia:" 145–8.

90 See above, n. 49.

91 Adriano Alpago Novello, *Apaghu Noravank*, Documenti di architettura armena, vol. 14, Milan: Edizioni Ares, 1985: 20; Paolo Cuneo, *Architettura armena dal quarto al diciannovesimo secolo*, Rome: De Luca Editore, 1988, vol. I, no. 201.

3.19 Monastery of Geghard, Armenia, *muqarna*s dome, c. 1215–25, photograph courtesy of Heghnar Watenpaugh

In terms of the spatial relationships between the monuments, it is striking that the Çifte Minareli Medrese was built both facing the citadel (and thus the Kale Camii and Tepsi Minare located there) and very close to the Great Mosque. In this way, the Çifte Minareli Medrese clearly marks its presence in the urban context and dwarfs the Great Mosque, thereby subjugating the latter to the new rulers' monument and conditions, even though the mosque probably retained its original function and thus provided a local *lieu de mémoire*. Most importantly, the Çifte Minareli Medrese's location right next to the Tabriz Gate, at the beginning of the caravan route towards Iran, was a clear signal of Ilkhanid dominance in the city, both for those arriving from the east and for those about to set out for the central lands of the Mongol realm in Iran.

The Yakutiye Medrese, as the foundation of the city's Ilkhanid governor, repeats many of these subtle references, including the one to the mausolea, while also adding new ones. The *muqarnas* dome, for example, links it to the Great Mosque, and the mausoleum also connects it to the Çifte Minareli Medrese, the largest and most monumental building in the city at the time the Yakutiye Medrese was built. The minaret may also refer to the Çifte Minareli Medrese, as well as to the monuments of Konya and Sivas—and even to Iran, with its tile decoration. The building's stone, however, is local. Thus, in both its design and materials, the Yakutiye Medrese expresses the complex interplay between the local, regional, and imperial levels of architecture. Erzurum, more than any other city in Anatolia, demonstrates how, rather than there being stylistic unity in the region, local urban identities were strongly integrated into the architecture, in particular under the Ilkhanid imperial umbrella.

Conclusion

Just as striking as the absence of references to Byzantine architecture in the monuments of Erzurum is the fact that, despite the political reality of Mongol dominance, connections to Mongol-sponsored monuments in Iran are largely missing from the city's buildings. In Iran, the Ilkhanid sultan Uljāytū established large-scale brick foundations, richly decorated with glazed tiles, in Sulṭāniye, his new capital near Tabriz.[92]

In Erzurum, a city at the eastern edge of Anatolia and relatively close to the Ilkhanid capital of Tabriz (at least compared to the cities in the central and eastern parts of the region), this local character in the architecture clearly emerged around 1300, when an Ilkhanid governor resided there. Indeed, for several decades under Mongol rule, Erzurum experienced a rise in construction activity; the city hadn't been a center of so much building since the twelfth century, when it was under Saltukid rule and before it was briefly integrated into the Seljuk realm. This sudden surge in building projects suggests that the city gained in importance as it became more closely connected to the Ilkhanid center. While from a Seljuk—and, for that matter, Byzantine—viewpoint Erzurum was at the very edge of a frontier zone, from an Ilkhanid point of view the city was a gateway to Anatolia. The pastures surrounding the city, and its location on caravan routes that connected Iran to the Mediterranean and Black Seas, were additional assets that made Erzurum crucial for control of this westernmost province of the Ilkhanid realm. Indeed, the unified monetary system introduced by Ghāzān Khān promoted and increased the volume of economic transactions between Anatolia and Iran, and facilitated trade in the regions surrounding the Black Sea, as we will see in Chapter 4.[93]

Erzurum benefitted directly from this increase in trade, and from the patronage associated with Ilkhanid interest in this part of Anatolia. The construction of three madrasas points to an increasing presence of scholars and students, who would have augmented the city's population and made it a more attractive destination for those wishing to study Islamic law. The fact that this growth in Islamic institutions in an Anatolian city happened under Ilkhanid rule becomes less surprising when viewed in the broader context of the conversion of the Mongol rulers that began with Ghāzān Khān. The construction projects may have been part of a larger consolidation of urban life, which would have been important for a city like Erzurum, at the fringes of a restive region that, as previously discussed, was also an important buffer zone between the Ilkhanids and Mamluks. These construction projects, while less extensive than those in Iran at the same time, would have incited local craftsmen to stay in one place, rather than travel widely—hence, the use of local materials and motifs in decoration was increasingly consolidated, and architecture became perhaps less experimental than it was in Konya in the early thirteenth century, while retaining the high level of skill that we have observed in previous chapters.

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[92] Sheila Blair, "The epigraphic program of the tomb of Uljāytū at Sultaniyya: meaning in Mongol architecture," *Islamic Art* 2 (1987): 43–96.

[93] Togan, "Economic Conditions in Anatolia in the Mongol Period," tr. Leiser.

At this point, Ilkhanid authority was also in crisis in Iran, and it gradually disappeared after the death of sultan Abū Sa'īd (r. 716–35/ 1316–35). The decades between the construction activity in Erzurum and the dissolution of the Ilkhanid realm into multiple small principalities further fragmented and localized patronage in Anatolia. At the same time, Anatolia appears to have been more integrated economically with the Ilkhanid realm than ever before, as the construction of a few caravanserais were added to the roads leading from Iran through eastern Anatolia to the Black Sea, and Ilkhanid coins were minted across Anatolia (even in cities that were not under Ilkhanid rule)—this may point to the role of trade in connecting the two regions, even as political influence waned.

Architecture, however, became even more localized in style, patronage, and attached property. Patrons were now more and more connected to local communities and confraternities, often with Sufi or Akhī connections, and were more likely to commission small monuments for the immediate use of those surrounding them. *Waqf* property became increasingly localized as well, perhaps reflecting the need to maintaining a secure reserve as power dynamics in Anatolia increasingly shifted towards fragmentation. In the next chapter, I will focus on these small foundations, many of them *zāwiyas* and mausolea with connections to local Sufi communities in Ankara, Amasya, and Tokat.

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Small cities in a global moment: Tokat, Amasya, Ankara (1280–1330)

In this chapter, the focus will shift from the large urban centers of thirteenth-century Anatolia—exemplified by Konya, Sivas, and Erzurum in the previous chapters—to smaller cities that were nonetheless strategically important due to their location on trade routes. Specifically, the emphasis will be on Tokat, Amasya, and Ankara, cities located between the center of Anatolia and the Black Sea, and hence important stops along the various long-distance trade routes that connected the Mediterranean to the Black Sea, Tabriz to Konya, and, ultimately, the entire region to the larger system of the so-called Silk Road. During the period under investigation here, around 1300, trade routes moved due to shifting conflicts between the Ilkhanids, Mamluks, the newly restored Byzantine Empire, the Golden Horde, Venice and Genoa. The two Italian city-states were primarily interested in maintaining their trade connections with the Middle East—initially in the Mediterranean region and, in the late thirteenth century, on the Black Sea, which provided access to Iran and the Dasht-i Qipchāq.[1]

In this context, the cities examined in this chapter are local reflections of the effects of Ilkhanid economic policy—in particular the unified monetary system and emphasis on trade that emerged under Ghāzān Khān beginning in 694/ 1295—and of the political situation in Anatolia. Specific buildings show a shift in patronage away from notables such as Mu'in al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* (d. 675/ 1277) and Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī (d. 683/ 1285), who, owing to the changing structure of the Ilkhanid administration in Anatolia, were not replaced after they passed away. Instead, the new patrons who emerged in Anatolia at the very end of the thirteenth century fall into two broad categories. The first were governors and other officials who were appointed to Anatolia from Iran and occasionally invested in the cities of their appointment (Jamāl al-Dīn Yāqūt and his patronage in Erzurum and Bayburt, discussed in Chapter 3, for example). The second group consisted of local figures that are mentioned only rarely in written sources other than foundation inscriptions and *waqfiya*s. These patrons do not appear in the chronicles of the time since they

[1] Also known as the Cuman steppe, Dasht-i Qipchāq corresponds to present-day southern Russia and western Kazakhstan: John A. Boyle, "Dasht-i Ḳïpčaḳ," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/dasht-i-kipcak-SIM_8463, accessed 13 June 2013.

were not involved in the larger events recorded in these texts and probably founded their small-scale buildings and corresponding endowments largely unnoticed by the central figures of the Ilkhanid administration. As the Ilkhanids in Iran became increasingly Islamized, and patronage of Islamic institutions was concentrated around Tabriz and Sulṭāniye, no new elites of the same caliber as those of the mid-thirteenth century emerged. Unlike in the 1260s and 1270s, when major patrons, including Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* (d. 675/ 1277), Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī (d. 683/ 1285), and Nūr al-Dīn Jājā (d. after 675/ 1277), built monuments and endowed properties in several cities, late thirteenth-century patrons limited their patronage to one location—namely, the city in which they lived—rather than extending it across a wider territory.

In Ankara, as in Tokat, patronage in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was marked by the interventions of Akhī and Sufi communities, which invested in structures for their own use and established endowments based on properties in the vicinity. In Tokat, the city's past as a stronghold of Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* (discussed in Chapter 1) also played an important role. While there is no conclusive evidence that any of this patron's foundations survive in the city, monuments associated with his family, as well as with local Sufi communities, were built there around 1300. In Amasya, a city located along the same trade route as Tokat, only a few structures from this period have survived, yet the mention of the Ilkhanid ruler in a foundation inscription shows that a nominal connection to the center in Iran was maintained. Viewed together, these buildings reflect the relatively small scale of foundations in Anatolia after 1280, as the Ilkhanid administration moved towards what would culminate in the economic reforms of Ghāzān Khān (r. 694–703/ 1295–1304). Chapter 3 examined this ruler's conversion to Islam and its profound effects on patronage in Iran. The focus here will be on efforts to standardize the currency (in particular silver coins) and remonetize the economy of the realm, and on investments to foster trade—and the impact these developments had on both architectural patronage and trade with other regions.

Directly related to these economic measures and their consequences is the development of the caravanserai network in Anatolia, largely established in the first half of the thirteenth century, with a concentration of buildings along the roads leading to the Seljuk capital, Konya. In the late thirteenth century, as trade routes shifted, greater emphasis was placed on both the Black Sea and a connection to Iran, to eastern Anatolian cities such as Erzincan and Erzurum, and to the port of Trebizond (today Trabzon). At the time, Trebizond was in the hands of the Komneni, who had formed a Byzantine sub-empire in the city after the Latin conquest of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade in 1204. This dynasty continued to exist after Michael VIII Palaiologos restored the Byzantine Empire in Constantinople in 1261, and it was an important actor in trade with the Ilkhanids.[2]

There is some architectural evidence pointing to the consolidation of trade routes in the northeastern section of Anatolia, in the context of the series of alliances formed to foster trade between the Ilkhanids, the Komneni of Trebizond,

[2] Angold, "Byzantium after the Fourth Crusade"; Eastmond, *Art and Identity in Thirteenth-Century Byzantium:* 1–3.

the Genoese, and the Byzantine Empire. However, most of the caravanserais in this region are undated, and their patrons unknown, leaving only stylistic and archaeological evidence to determine their date. Hence, a direct connection between the patronage of Ghāzān Khān in Iran (which included rural and urban caravanserais, especially in Tabriz) and those in eastern Anatolia has yet to be documented. Nevertheless, written sources regarding the trade routes reveal that the increase in Ilkhanid foreign trade clearly had an effect on Anatolia as a result of shifting trade routes and the establishment of mints to unify the monetary system. A discussion of the monuments in Ankara, Tokat, and Amasya within the context of local patronage and *waqf* establishments will reveal the effect on construction of these economic shifts. Extant *waqfiya*s dating to the early fourteenth century show that, compared to the contemporary endowments in western Iran (discussed in Chapter 3), endowments in eastern Anatolia were much smaller in scale and were connected to local patronage. In short, as a whole, this chapter provides a counterpoint to the previous case studies of large individual urban centers, showing how smaller cities were affected by changes in long-distance trade, economic policy, and dependence (or not) on the investments of the Ilkhanid overlords.

Trade and Anatolia's economic situation

As noted in Chapters 2 and 3, the Ilkhanids were interested in Anatolia primarily as a buffer zone between Iran and the territory of the Mamluks, especially after the Ilkhanids had repeatedly failed to capture Syria in the 1260s.[3] At that time, in fact, Anatolia became the frontier between these two empires, and economically exploiting the region may not have been one of the Ilkhanids' primary goals. In order to defend Syria, the Mamluks undertook an expedition into Anatolia: in 675/ 1277, they temporarily occupied Kayseri after defeating the Ilkhanids. The Ilkhanid ruler Arghūn Khān (r. 683–90/ 1284–91) subsequently decided to tighten his hold over Anatolia and dispatched governors to various cities in the region. This tighter control remained in place until the 1330s. Subsequently, as Ilkhanid rule waned, appointed governors and local actors began carving out their own principalities—not unlike the *beylik*s in western Anatolia, including the Ottomans, who were acting independently during the very same period.

The first serious rebellion was that of Sulāmish, a grandson of Baiju Noyan (the Mongol general who had conquered Anatolia in the 1240s), who tried to usurp rule in 698/ 1299 with the support of the Karamanids, the rulers of an emerging *beylik* from Larende (present-day Karaman), south of Konya.[4] Soon forced to flee, the rebellious governor was eventually captured and executed by Choban Noyan (d. 727/ 1327), who was sent to Anatolia specifically to deal with the revolt.[5] Similar rebellions followed. In 722/ 1322–23, Tīmūrtāsh, Choban Noyan's son and deputy governor of Ilkhanid Anatolia under him, revolted, but, forced to flee just a few

[3] Amitai, "Northern Syria between the Mongols and Mamluks:" 128–52.
[4] Yıldız, "Mongol Rule in thirteenth-century Seljuk Anatolia:" 388–414.
[5] Cahen, *Formation of Turkey:* 225.

years later, he never had the opportunity to become active as a significant patron. Only one monument for which he was responsible has survived: the Şeyh Hüseyin Râî fountain in Sivas.[6] In the foundation inscription of the Bezistan Mescid in Samsun, dated 723/ 1323, Tīmūrtāsh is named in his function as a local ruler, just after the Ilkhanid sultan Abū Sa'īd (r. 716–36/ 1316–35), to whom the inscription states that he pledged allegiance, even though he had long stopped following orders from Iran.[7] Choban Noyan, who by then held significant power in the Ilkhanid realm (over which the sultan Abū Sa'īd no longer had much authority), captured his son and took him to the sultan, obtaining the latter's pardon and getting Tīmūrtāsh reappointed as the governor of Anatolia.[8] Over the next few years, internal conflicts centered on Iran led to Choban Noyan's downfall, and he was executed in 727/ 1327.[9] Tīmūrtāsh, still in Anatolia but fearing for his life now, fled to the Mamluk court in Cairo, where he was initially well received, though demands from the Ilkhanid court eventually led to his execution in 728/ 1328.[10] Power in Anatolia then passed on to one of Tīmūrtāsh's former followers, Eretna, who ruled under Ilkhanid control from 727–34/ 1326–35 and independently until 753/ 1352. Initially, Eretna continued to report to the Ilkhanid court, but succession struggles in Iran after the death of Abū Sa'īd in 736/ 1335 allowed him effectively to take over Sivas and its region, and he continued to add to his realm during the next two decades.[11] Together with the Karamanids, the Eretnids, with their strongholds in Sivas and Kayseri, would prove to be the most powerful princes in eastern Anatolia in the second half of the fourteenth century, a period not covered in this book.

Along with these expressions of political unrest, fiscal problems emerged as the newly independent governors stopped paying taxes to the Ilkhanid center, and road tolls from the trade routes probably also disappeared into their pockets. In the 1330s, at the peak of the fiscal crisis that would accelerate the downfall of the Ilkhanate, inscriptions exhorting the application of rightful taxation (discussed in greater detail below) were placed in various locations around Anatolia. Since no Ilkhanid fiscal documents have survived in their original form, an assessment of the economic developments of the time must rely on the study of other sources such as chronicles, *waqfiya*s, and inscriptions, as well as on related phenomena such as the development of trade routes, caravanserais, and mints. In the *Risāle-yi Falakiyye*, an administrative manual which, according to its author, reflects the state of financial

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[6] M. Zeki Oral, "Anadolu'da İlhanli devri vesikaları—Temurtaş Noyin zamanında yapılmış eserler ve kitabeleri," in: *V. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara 12–17 Nisan 1956, Kongreye sunulan tebliğler*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1960: 209–10.

[7] "(1) 'amara hādhā 'l-masjid 'l-mubāraka fī ayyām 'l-dawla (2) 'l-sulṭān 'l-a'ẓam Abū Sa'īd Khān khallada allāhu (3) sulṭānahū wa fī zamān Nūyīn Timūrtāsh 'azza naṣrahū (4) aḍ'af 'l-'abīd Awḥad bin Maḥmūd 'l-Mawlawī sanata thalātha wa-'ashrīn wa-sab'amā'ia," after Oral, "Anadolu'da İlhanli devri vesikaları," Fig. 2.

[8] Cahen, *Formation of Turkey:* 225–6.

[9] Charles Melville, "Čobān," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, www.iranicaonline.org/articles/coban-cupan-ar, accessed 1 May 2013; Charles Melville, *The Fall of Amir Chupan and the Decline of the Ilkhanate, 1327–37: A Decade of Discord in Mongol Iran*, Papers on Inner Asia, No. 30, Bloomington IN: Indiana University Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1999: 19–28.

[10] Charles Melville, "Chobanids," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/chobanids-chupanids-pers, accessed 1 May 2013.

[11] Claude Cahen, "Eretna," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/eretna-SIM_2196, accessed 1 May 2013.

affairs around 1350 (though Walther Hinz has shown it to represent the Ilkhanid budget in 735/ 1335), the rule of Ghāzān Khān (r. 694–703/ 1295–1304) is the point of reference for fiscal stability, a sort of ideal age to which rulers and administrators ought to aspire.[12] Consequently, during the later, troubled period that began with the reign of Abū Sa'īd, Ghāzān Khān's reforms, initiated in the 1290s, became a benchmark for a better state of affairs. The lack of documents recording taxation during independent Seljuk rule before the 1240s and during the initial stages of Mongol rule makes it difficult to assess the exact nature of the fiscal and economic situation in Anatolia at the time, and how it differed from the period before the Mongol conquest.[13]

In addition to the *Risāle-yi Falakiyye*, the geographical section of Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī's (fl. 1330–40) *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, a comprehensive account of the Ilkhanid realm, includes relevant tax figures and other sources of income for important cities.[14] The author was a *munshī*, a functionary of the Ilkhanid administration, who had access to this information as part of his office. In 711/ 1311, Qazvīnī became the governor of Qazvīn and began to write his historical account. After losing his appointment, he spent several years travelling through Iran before returning to Qazvīn in 740/ 1340, where he died around 744/ 1344.[15] In addition to providing fiscal information, Qazvīnī also briefly describes the cities he lists, including an assessment of their importance, and the major goods traded there. In his account of Anatolia, Qazvīnī provides a general introduction to the region.[16] Most importantly, he describes the location of Anatolia and its relationship to the surrounding regions, and points out the marked decline in revenue at the time of writing:

> The frontiers of the province of Rūm are connected to Georgia, Armenia, Sīs [Cilicia], Syria, and the Mediterranean. Its revenues today are 330 *tūmān*, as recorded in the account books. During the time of the Seljuks, they were over 1500 *tūmān* in today's currency.[17]

What is striking about this assessment is the supposed decrease in revenue since "the time of the Seljuks"—even though it is not clear which period of Seljuk rule the writer is referring to; one might infer that it is the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād (r. 616–36/ 1220–37), which is represented as a high point in chronicles, particularly in Ibn Bībī's *al-Avāmir al-'alā'iyya fī 'l-'umūr al-'alā'iyya*, a work commissioned by 'Alā al-Dīn al-Juwaynī, the Ilkhanid notable and brother of the patron of the Çifte

[12] Walther Hinz, "Das Rechnungswesen orientalischer Reichsfinanzämter im Mittelalter," *Der Islam* 29 (1950): 132–3; Walther Hinz (ed.), *Die Resālä-ye Falakiyyä des 'Abdollāh ibn Moḥammad ibn Kiyā al-Māzandarānī: Ein persischer Leitfaden des staatlichen Rechnungswesens (um 1363)*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1952. I thank Professor Robert G. Morrison for these suggestions.

[13] Köprülü, *The Seljuks of Anatolia:* 23–9.

[14] Qazvīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-qulūb* ed. and tr. Le Strange.

[15] Charles Melville, "Ḥamd-allāh Mostawfi," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, http://www.iranica.com/articles/hamd-allah-mostawfi, accessed 30 March 2011.

[16] Qazvīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-qulūb* ed. and tr. Le Strange, Chapter XV, section VII of both the English and Persian text.

[17] My translation, based on Qazvīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-qulūb,* ed. and tr. Le Strange, vol. 23, part 2: 95 and vol. 23, part 1: 94.

Minareli Medrese in Sivas, discussed in Chapter 2. Following this pessimistic general account of Anatolia, Qazvīnī continues with a list of cities, indicating that Sivas was the most important city in the province of Rūm, an assessment that coincides with its location at the crossroads of significant trade routes.[18] Naturally, Tabriz is referred to as the center of the Ilkhanid realm, along with Sulṭānīye, the new capital of sultan Uljāytū, which was constructed in the same region.[19] Even Baghdad, a city that had suffered badly during the Mongol conquest of 656/ 1258, is described as far richer and more densely populated than Sivas, the wealthiest city in the province of Rūm.[20]

Zeki Velidi Togan included Qazvīnī's account in his lengthy article about the monetary system of the Ilkhanid realm, originally published in 1931.[21] While some of Togan's conclusions need to be revised in light of more recent research, the study remains a valuable analysis of the economic situation in Anatolia under Mongol rule.[22] Togan assumes a monetary economy based on gold, yet more recent studies of gold and silver coinage in Ilkhanid Iran have shown that in fact silver was the dominant currency. It appears that there was no clear weight standard for gold coins, suggesting that they were struck for special purposes rather than for wide circulation.[23] This would be in keeping with the earlier Seljuk practice of favoring silver money, for which evidence of clear weight standards exists, particularly following an effort during the reign of Ghāzān Khān to provide high-quality, uniform coins.[24] Increased international trade in the decades before Ghāzān Khān's accession had already led to a widely remonetized economy in the Ilkhanid realm. Eventually, the economic reforms (discussed in Chapter 3) and monetary standardization under Ghāzān Khān led to the abolition of Seljuk coins in Anatolia in 695/ 1295–96, a further step in the move towards economic centralization, which brought increasing wealth to Tabriz.[25]

On the whole, the negative description of Anatolia in Qazvīnī's text may be related to the repeated insurrections that shook the region from the 1290s onwards, turning it into a source of unrest outside the central lands of the Ilkhanid realm. Similarly, in Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb's *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, Anatolia is often mentioned in relation to upheaval.[26] This suggests that, from the point of view of Ilkhanid Iran, Anatolia was a problematic frontier region that could be difficult to control—even more so as governors and other appointed officials began to assume independent

[18] Qazvīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-qulūb,* ed. and tr. Le Strange, vol. 23 part 1: 94 and vol. 23 part 2: 95.

[19] Qazvīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-qulūb,* ed. and tr. Le Strange, vol. 23 part 2: 61–2, 78–83.

[20] Qazvīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-qulūb,* ed. and tr. Le Strange, vol. 23 part 2: 39–43.

[21] Togan, "Economic Conditions."

[22] Togan, "Economic Conditions," translator's introduction: 203–4.

[23] John Masson Smith and Francis Plunkett, "Gold Money in Mongol Iran," *JESHO* 11 (1968): 275–97.

[24] John Masson Smith, "The Silver Currency of Mongol Iran," *JESHO* 12 (1969): 16–41; for a typological analysis of the coins introduced under Ghāzān Khān and changes made to them later: Sheila S. Blair, "The Coins of the Later Ilkhanids: A Typological Analysis," *JESHO* XXVI.3 (1983): 295–317.

[25] Arsenio Peter Martinez, "Bullionistic imperialism: the Īl-Xānid mint's exploitation of the Rūm-Saljūqid currency, 654–695 A.H./1256–1296 A.D," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 13 (1994): 171–4.

[26] Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jami' u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles—A History of the Mongols,* tr. Thackston, vol. 3: 642–3.

authority. Despite Qazvīnī's negative assessment of the region, studies of trade networks show that the Mongol conquest ultimately led to increased activity along trade routes across Anatolia, which strengthened the region's connection to Black Sea trade in particular, as will be discussed below.

By the twelfth century, Black Sea trade had largely recovered from the disruption caused by the Seljuk conquest of Anatolia in the late eleventh century. With the stabilization of Seljuk rule in the early thirteenth century, new silver and gold coinage was introduced, which helped foster trade.[27] The conquest of seaports and the construction of a network of caravanserais in the first quarter of the thirteenth century (discussed in greater detail below) enabled the Seljuks to integrate the Black Sea into their realm's trade network and to benefit from the rich fur and slave trade with the regions north of the sea. The conquest of Antalya on the Mediterranean in 603/ 1207 and of Sinop on the Black Sea in 610/ 1214 opened access to a network that led across the Black Sea and overland to the southern coast of Anatolia. The Seljuks were able to build a fleet in the Black Sea, control trade with Crimea, and briefly establish a colony at Sudak.[28] The Mongol conquest would soon change these dynamics, yet Black Sea trade remained important throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

As the Mongols moved into Iran in the 1220s and into Anatolia in the 1240s, centers shifted, and trade was rerouted based on changing interests. Tabriz in western Iran soon became an important center since it was in a position to absorb goods from the Caucasus, the Eurasian steppes, and the Silk Road. The Mongol Empire had broken down into four realms: the Golden Horde, the Ilkhanate, the Chagatai Khanate in Central Asia, and the Yuan dynasty in China.[29] The conflict for control of Tabriz in the 1250s between two of Genghis Khan's grandsons, Batu (d. c. 1255) and Hülegü (d. 663/ 1265), shows how important the city had become in the economic domination of the region. Eventually, in the 1250s and 1260s, the Golden Horde settled in the territories of the Dasht-i Qipchāq north of Crimea and in the realm of the Ilkhanids in Iran, with Tabriz at its center. The Golden Horde, beginning with the rule of Berke (r. 1257–67), was to the north of the Black Sea.[30] The Ilkhanids, starting with Hülegü (r. 1256–65), controlled trade in Iran, large parts of Asia Minor (thanks to their victory over the Seljuks), and Cilician Armenia.[31] As previously mentioned, the Mamluks soon became the Ilkhanids' main rivals for domination in the Middle East; Anatolia became a buffer zone between the two empires, and access to Mediterranean trade was an important point of contention. In 1285, the Mamluks took over Cilician Armenia, cutting off Ilkhanid access to the Mediterranean.[32]

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[27] Peacock, "Black Sea Trade:" 69.

[28] Peacock, "Black Sea Trade:" 69–70.

[29] Peter Jackson, "The Mongol Age in Eastern Inner Asia," in: Nicola di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds) *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009: 39–42; István Vásáry, "The Jochid realm: the western steppe and Eastern Europe," in: Nicola di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden (eds) *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009: 72–5.

[30] Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde: die Mongolen in Russland, 1223–1502*, Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1943: 33–52; Vásáry, "The Jochid realm:" 75–6.

[31] Ciociltân, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade:* 43–58, 148–50.

[32] Ciociltân, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade:* 70–77.

The Ilkhanids, under Arghūn Khān (r. 683–90/ 1284–91), decided to contact the Genoese, who had a keen interest in Mediterranean trade and were suffering as a result of the Mamluk takeover of Cilicia. An agreement with the Armenian kings of Cilicia secured Genoese access to the port of Ayas on the Mediterranean, while an alliance with the Ilkhanids guaranteed trading privileges in Tabriz. The latter development came much to the dismay of the Mamluks, who resorted to arresting Genoese merchants in the ports under their rule.[33] At the same time, an axis connecting Cairo to Saray, the capital of the Golden Horde, was established after Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1261–82) regained Constantinople in 1261.[34] Negotiations between Genoa and the Byzantine Empire began almost immediately, leading to a treaty that secured Genoese access to the Bosporus and hence to the Black Sea. Another treaty with the Golden Horde fully secured this route the following year.[35] A marriage alliance with the Ilkhanids was concluded in 1265, when Michael VIII Palaiologos sent his illegitimate daughter Maria to Iran as Abāqā Khān's bride.[36]

The former Seljuk sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs II (r. 644–55/ 1246–57), in exile at the Byzantine court in Constantinople, was involved in the negotiations between Genoa and the Byzantine emperor. In 663/ 1265, he moved to Crimea to live out the remainder of his days, while one of his sons returned to Anatolia to rule as Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. Kaykāwūs (r. 681–700/ 1282–1301, with several interruptions).[37] The Genoese, with their strong fleet, their previous treaties with the Byzantine Emperor and the Golden Horde, and an alliance with the Ilkhanids, were able to secure access to the Black Sea and to Tabriz.[38] This increased inclusion of the Black Sea in broader trade networks shifted parts of the Silk Road towards this sea route, and by the late 1280s a Genoese colony in Caffa (founded in the 1270s) had become a center for trade with the Eurasian hinterland.[39] This prospering Genoese colony was closed from 1308 until 1313, after the ruler of the Golden Horde, Toqta Khān (r. 702–12/ 1303–12), expelled foreign merchants, probably out of concern that the slave trade was depleting the population of the Dasht-i Qipchāq. After Toqta Khān's death, trade was restored and persisted throughout the fourteenth century.[40]

For the Ilkhanids, the loss of Cilician Armenia to the Mamluks in 1285 brought a need for access to the Black Sea now that the Mediterranean was out of reach. This resulted in increased trade on the route from Tabriz to Trebizond. The route was particularly strong in the 1290s, and a Genoese presence is documented in the

33 Ciociltân, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*: 77–82.
34 Ciociltân, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*: 88, 151–2.
35 Brătianu, *Recherches:* 206–8; Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia*: 189–90.
36 Eastmond, *Art and Identity*: 94.
37 Ciociltân, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*: 88–90; Brătianu, *Recherches*: 205–6.
38 Ciociltân, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*: 92–5.
39 Ciociltân, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*: 102–3, 155–9; Brătianu, *Recherches:* 219–20. Grave finds in current-day Ukraine reveal the extent of trade between the Middle East and the Dasht-i Qipchāq: Renata Holod and Yuriy Rassamakin, "Imported and Native Remedies for a Wounded 'Prince': Grave Goods from the Chungul Kurgan in the Black Sea Steppe of the Thirteenth Century," in: Heather E. Grossman and Alicia Walker (eds) *Mechanisms of Exchange: Transmission in Medieval Art and Architecture of the Mediterranean, ca. 1000–1500*, special issue of *Medieval Encounters* 18/4–5 (2012): 339–81.
40 Ciociltân, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*: 104–8, 164–71.

port of Trebizond as early as 1289.[41] During the rule of Ghāzān Khān (r. 694–703/1295–1304), the Ilkhanids focused on securing the roads from Tabriz to Trebizond and on constructing a merchant quarter in Tabriz with caravanserais, shops, and workshops.[42] Taxes levied on foreign merchants were relatively moderate in order to ensure that the longer route from Tabriz through Iran to the Persian Gulf—which provided an alternative to the road from Cairo to the Red Sea—remained a viable and attractive channel by which to access the Indian Ocean. These low taxes, however, were responsible for a lack in income and contributed to the fiscal crisis that was a crucial factor in the demise of the Ilkhanate in the 1330s.[43]

Some of the overland routes shifted during this time: as more trade moved to the route from Tabriz to Trebizond in the early fourteenth century, the route that led through Ani, an Armenian city in the northeast of Anatolia, slowly dried up.[44] The city itself, a bustling trade center in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, along with nearby Mren, where the merchant Samadin had built a palace in 1276 to demonstrate his wealth, slowly declined.[45] In the development of trade and trade routes, caravanserais were essential in the overland portion of the routes—from Tabriz through Erzurum to Trebizond,[46] but also across Anatolia to the ports of Alanya and Antalya—though architectural evidence suggests that early thirteenth-century caravanserais were still in use in the fourteenth century, and that new foundations were scarce after the 1270s.

The caravanserai network

In the first half of the thirteenth century, under direct Seljuk rule, caravanserais were an important object of patronage. An infrastructure for trade across Anatolia was established, with a road network that converged towards Konya, in particular on a diagonal from Erzurum and Sivas (providing a connection to Iran), and from the ports of Sinop on the Black Sea and Alanya on the Mediterranean.[47] From the 1220s to the 1240s, a large number of caravanserais were commissioned, designed to accommodate merchants and their pack animals on the way from Iran to western Anatolia. Networks for trade and travel were established early on as part of the creation of an infrastructure to connect Anatolia overland to Iran and the Silk Road. Two major trade routes crossed Anatolia: the first began in Samsun and Sinop on the Black Sea and continued through Amasya and Tokat to the central Anatolian cities of Sivas and Kayseri, before finally reaching Konya; the second provided a connection

41 Ciociltân, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*: 115–9; Brătianu, *Recherches*: 157–8, 174–9.

42 Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jami' u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles—A History of the Mongols*, tr. Thackston, vol. 3: 684.

43 Ciociltân, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*: 134–7.

44 Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia*: 197–8.

45 Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia*: 178, 187–90; Marr, "Novye materialy po armianskoi epigrafike:" 82–3.

46 Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia:* 193.

47 Franz Taeschner, "Die Entwicklung des Wegenetzes und des Verkehrs im türkischen Anatolien," *Anadolu Araştırmaları* I.2 (1959): 174–6.

with Iran, through Erzurum and Erzincan to Sivas, where the two routes crossed. Both of these routes persisted under Mongol rule, and were even expanded.[48]

Most is known about the early stages of the development of this network, in large part thanks to Kurt Erdmann's work, which provided the basis for later studies.[49] Only a limited number of structures were added to the network after 1300, and then mostly in the northeastern corner of Anatolia, an area Erdmann did not include in his survey of caravanserais in Anatolia.[50] For this region, M. Kemal Özergin's catalog adds a few monuments on the route from Sivas to Erzincan, Erzurum, and Tabriz, without however providing much detail about them.[51]

In a fourteenth-century manual for merchants, the Florentine broker Francesco Pegolotti (d. after 1347) listed toll stations along the route from Ayas to Tabriz, based on the accounts of other traders who used this route, since Pegolotti himself never traveled there.[52] Easily recognizable stops along the way, where a toll had to be paid, were Ayas (Laiazzo di Erminia), Sultan Han near Kayseri (Gavsera del Soldano), Sivas (Salvastro), Erzincan (Arzinga), Erzurum (Arzerone), and Tabriz (Torisi).[53] Other places located between these major way stations and urban centers are more difficult to locate. Kiepert provided a map of the potential route with locations for most of the way stations, suggesting a clear route from Ayas to Sivas and continuing on to Erzincan.[54] The route is less clear in some areas from there on towards Erzurum and then Tabriz; a clear stop, however, is the caravanserai at Köprüköy (still extant), which may correspond to Pegolotti's "Polorbech," from where the road continued on to Iran.[55]

On the roads Pegolotti described, caravanserais became sparser east of Sivas, even though these sections of the trade network were heavily used in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. To some extent, this lack of attention to new construction in northeastern Anatolia supports the idea that the caravanserais built under the patronage of the Seljuk sultans in the first half of the thirteenth century were focused only partly on trade, while also providing military security and demonstrating Seljuk sovereignty.[56] A concentration of early thirteenth-century buildings is especially notable on the route from Konya through Kayseri and on to Sivas, with the greatest density of monuments closer to the capital.

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[48] Thomas Allen Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey, an Architectural and Archeological Survey*, London: Pindar Press, 1987–90, I: 107–09; Hoffmann, *Waqf:* 101.

[49] M. Kemal Özergin, "Anadolu'da Selçuklu kervanserayları," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* XV.20 (March, 1965): 141–70; Mustafa Önge, "Caravanserais as Symbols of Power in Seljuk Anatolia," in: Jonathan Osmond and Ausma Cimdina (eds) *Power and Culture: Identity, Ideology, Representation*, Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2007: 49–69.

[50] Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray*.

[51] Özergin, "Anadolu'da Selçuklu kervanserayları:" 146, 154, 157–8.

[52] Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La Pratica della Mercantura*, ed. Allan Evans, Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1936: 28–9; on Pegolotti's sources: Pegolotti, *La Pratica della Mercantura*, editor's introduction: xxv–xxvi.

[53] Pegolotti, *La Pratica della Mercantura:* 28–9, and glossary of toll stations from Ayas to Tabriz: 389–91.

[54] Heinrich Kiepert, "Ueber Pegolotti's vorderasiatisches Itinerar," *Monatsberichte der königlich-preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1881, 905–6; Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia*: 190–95.

[55] Kiepert, "Ueber Pegolotti's vorderasiatisches Itinerar:" 909.

[56] Ayşıl Tükel Yavuz, "Anatolian Seljuk Caravanserais and their Use as State Houses," in: François Déroche et al. (eds) *Art Turc—Turkish Art: 10th International Congress of Turkish Art, Geneva 17–23 September 1995*, Geneva: Fondation Max van Berchem, 1999: 757–65.

J. Michael Rogers has pointed out that the foundations sponsored by the sultans are those closest to Konya, and that patronage for these buildings was not exclusively a royal prerogative.[57]

On the level of structure and especially decoration, however, these caravanserais, with their prominent portals and geometric decoration, reveal the beginnings of what may have been intended to become a uniform Seljuk style expressing imperial aspirations.[58] The caravanserais are arguably the most visibly imperial architectural enterprise undertaken by the Seljuks: they unified Anatolia as a region for trade, facilitated travel, and provided defensive structures in times of conflict. In visual terms, these structures were limited to a few types, which were used repeatedly, and are the closest the Seljuks came to defining a stylistic idiom with strong imperial connotations.

Among the caravanserais built before the Mongol conquest of Anatolia in 639/ 1243, Erdmann lists eight that were commissioned by Seljuk sultans; this appears to be just a fraction of the total number of buildings of this type that survive from this period.[59] Yet it is still higher than the number of madrasas, of which only one extant example was built with the involvement of a Seljuk ruler: the Çifte Medrese in Kayseri, co-founded by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykāwūs I (r. 588–93/ 1192–96 and 601–08/ 1205–11) in 601/ 1205 and paid from the estate of the sultan's sister, Gawhar Nasība.[60] Considering, moreover, that the patrons of nineteen of the early thirteenth-century caravanserais remain unknown, there is ample room to speculate that the Seljuk sultans made a wider effort to establish an infrastructure for trade. Rogers suggested that the epithet "al-sulṭānī" (the Sultanic) used in the inscriptions of several monuments dated between 620/ 1223–24 and 638/ 1242, including five caravanserais, may point to these structures' status as part of an official network, even though their patrons were not royal.[61] According to a now lost inscription, the Evdir Han near Antalya was built under the patronage of 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs I in 611–16/ 1215–19.[62] Under the rule of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād I (r. 616–36/ 1220–37), several caravanserais were built: Sultan Han near Aksaray (626/ 1229), the Alara Han between Antalya and Alanya (629/ 1231), and the Sultan Han near Kayseri (ca. 1232–36 CE). The İncir Han near İsparta (636/ 1238–39) was constructed under the patronage of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II (r. 636–44/ 1237–46), the same sultan who may also have been responsible for building the roughly contemporary Kırkgöz Han.[63] The Hatun Han in Pazar near Tokat was built in 636/ 1238–9 by

[57] J. Michael Rogers, "Royal Caravansarays and Royal Inscriptions in Seljuk Anatolia," *Atatürk Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Araştırma Dergisi—In Memoriam Prof. Albert Louis Gabriel* (1978): 400–01.

[58] For studies that emphasize the role of portals as a means of establishing a unified 'Seljuk' style: Wolper, "Portal Patterns in Seljuk and Beylik Anatolia"; Nancy Stephenson Pyle, "Seljuk Portals of Anatolia," two vols., PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1980.

[59] Özergin lists 196 caravanserais, including ones that are only know from written sources: Özergin, "Anadolu'da Selçuklu kervanserayları:" 144–70.

[60] Kuran, *Anadolu Medreseleri:* 65–7; According to Ibn Bībī, 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs I (r. 608–16/ 1211–20) commissioned a madrasa in Ankara: Ibn Bībī, tr. Yinanç: 47.

[61] Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray*, vol. 2–3: 204–05; Rogers, "Royal Caravansarays:" 398–401.

[62] http://www.turkishhan.org/evdir.htm, accessed 16 November 2010.

[63] Erdmann attributes the building to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II: Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray*, vol.: cat. 29: 110. Redford provides a new reading of the foundation inscription that

Mahperī Khātūn, a wife of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād I and the mother of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II.[64] A further six caravanserais can be attributed to this last patron, albeit not with certainty in all cases.[65]

Occasionally, high-ranking non-royal patrons such as Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy (discussed in Chapter 1) also commissioned caravanserais. The Karatay Han near Kayseri was probably begun under orders from 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād I. The covered section was built during this initial phase of construction, which was probably interrupted for a few years after the death of the sultan until the project was revived again by Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy in 638/ 1241. Under his patronage, the courtyard was added to the foundation and a mausoleum was built.[66] The latter, a rather unusual addition to a caravanserai, is heavily decorated with tiles and a carved frieze depicting animals.[67] Only the outside portal presents a salient portal block, with frames surrounding a *muqarnas* hood placed over the actual doorway; the ornamentation on the frames is mostly geometric. The portal of the covered section is also salient, yet with a simple pointed arch creating the frame for the doorway.

The size and wealth of the foundation were not lost on medieval observers. Writing about the campaign that the Mamluk sultan Baybars (r. 658–75/ 1260–77) undertook into Anatolia in 675/ 1277, the Syrian chronicler Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī (d. 740/ 1349) described the monument as follows:

> [...] then we arrived at a *khān* that there is known by [the name of] Karatay, pointing to the merit of the high-mindedness of its builder [Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy], who sought the merit of God the Almighty, and it [the *khān*] is among the greatest buildings in its wealth and size, and the most beautiful of [buildings] in its form and location. The entire building is [built] of carved and polished red stone, namely marble (*rukhām*), and on the exterior of its walls and columns [are] designs (*nuqūsh*), the semblance of which cannot be traced by a pen. Outside its door it [the *khān*] has a kind of courtyard (*rabaḍ*) with two doors, fortified walls, and a paved floor, [surrounded by] shops (*ḥawānīt*). The doors of the *khān* are of the best iron, and inside it [offers] shelter in the summer and winter, along with stables that man cannot adequately describe. It contains all that is needed to refresh the traveler in summer or winter. [The *khān*] contains a bathhouse, hospital, medication, beds, and shelter. Hospitality [is available] for every traveler according to his rank. [The *khān*] extended hospitality to the sultan [the Mamluk ruler Baybars] when he passed by. So many people gathered that [the offers of hospitality] reached neither all of them, nor him [the sultan]. [The *khān*] has large endowments (*awqāf*) and many landed estates nearby and in other regions; it has councils (*dawāwīn*), scribes, and overseers

identifies 'Iṣmat al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn, a wife of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād, as the patron: Redford, "The Inscription of the Kırkgöz Hanı:" 352–6.

[64] Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray*, vol.1: cat. 36: 138–9.

[65] According to Erdmann, Mahperī Khātūn may have sponsored the following caravanserais: the Cimcimli (or Çinçinli) Sultan Han (1239–40?), the Cekereksu Han (1239–40?), the Tahtoba Han (1238–46?), the İbibsa Han (1238–46?), the Çiftlik Han (1238–40?), and the Ezinepazar Han (1238–40?): Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray*, vol. 2–3: 205, with references to the catalog numbers in vol. I. Of these buildings, only the Cimcimli (or Çinçinli) Sultan Han (c. 1239–40) is directly connected to Māhperī Khātūn through fragments of a foundation inscription in her name in a nearby mosque, which might have belonged to the caravanserai: Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray*, vol. 1: cat. 37: 141–2.

[66] Erdmann suggests that the founder was buried here: Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansary*, vol. 1: 121–2, 124. However, it is more likely that Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy was buried in the mausoleum in his madrasa in Konya, built in 649/ 1251: Turan, "Selçuklu devri vakfiyeleri III:" 42–3.

[67] Oktay Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture*, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971, Fig. 97.

> (*mubāshirūn*) who administer the gains of its properties and its expenses. The Mongols (*al-tatār*) did not change anything regarding its regulations and left it as it was. The people of Rūm went to great lengths to show deference to its builder—may God have mercy upon him—and to glorify him.[68]

This admiring description of the Karatay Han is a rather rare instance of a medieval Islamic source that actually comments in detail on a monument's features, and, despite the author's somewhat vague descriptions, it is clear that he was impressed by the monumentality of the architecture and its carefully arranged infrastructure. The report also shows respect for the achievements of a patron well known for his charity, and—not surprisingly for a writer living in Mamluk lands—wariness towards the Mongol Ilkhanids, the author's overlords' greatest rivals. The source reveals that the caravanserai remained in use even at a time of crisis and suggests that these institutions had a certain longevity that was crucial to the functioning of trade. Consequently, it is likely that many early thirteenth-century caravanserais were still in use even as the Mongol conquest changed some of the dynamics of trade, often to the benefit of cities in Anatolia, including Trebizond and Sivas.

If the Ilkhanids invested in trade with Anatolia, this is not directly apparent from the caravanserai network. Only a few such structures were built in the late thirteenth century, and none that are dated to after 1300 with certainty have survived in the region. If such structures were built in Iran, as written sources suggest, the main reason for the lack of surviving examples is the fact that they were made of burnt brick and mud brick, making them much less durable than the stone structures in Anatolia.[69] The surviving late thirteenth-century structures in Anatolia merely hint at an increased investment in the routes leading from Iran into Anatolia. A few buildings along the road from Erzurum to Khurasan can be attributed to this period on stylistic grounds and based on sources describing their locations, but no inscriptions have been preserved.[70]

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[68] "Thumma ashrafnā ʻalā khānin hunāka yuʻrafu bi-Qaraṭāy yadullu ʻalā sharafi himmati bānīhi wa ṭalaba thawwābu llāhi taʻālā fīhi wa-huwa min akbari ʼl-abniyati saʻatan wa-irtifāʻan wa aḥsanihā shaklan wa-awḍāʻ kullihi mabnā bil-ḥajari ʼl-manḥūta ʼl-maṣqūli ʼl-aḥmari ʼlladhī kānahū rukhāmun wa-min ẓāhiri aswārihī wa-arkānihi nuqūshun lā yumkinu an yarsama mithlihā bil-qalami wa-lahū khārija bābihi mithlu ʼl-rabaḍi bi-bābayn bi-aswāri ḥaṣīna muballaṭi ʼl-arḍi fīhi ḥawānītun wa-abwābu ʻl-khāni ḥadīdun min aḥsani mā yakūnu istiʻmālihi wa-dākhilahū awāwīnun ṣayfīyatun wa-amkinatun shitawīyatun wa-iṣṭablātun ʻalā hādhihi ʼl-ṣūrati lā yuḥsinu ʻl-insānu an yuʻabbira ʻanhā bi-kayfin wa-mā minhā illā mā yujaddidu ʼl-musāfira (riḥlata ʼl-shitāʼi wa ʼl-ṣayfi) wa-fīhi ʼl-ḥamāmu wa ʼl-maristānu wa ʼl-adwiya wa ʼl-farash wa-l-īwānīn wa-l-ḍiyāfatu li-kulli ṭāriqin ʻalā qadrihī wa-ḥamala ilā ʻl-sulṭān [min ḍiyāfatihī] lammā marra ʻalayhi wa-kathara ʼl-nās fa-mā waṣala aḥadun ilayhā wa-lā ilayhi wa-ʻalayhi awqāfun ʻaẓīmatun wa-ḍiyāʻ kathīra ḥawlahu wa-fī ghayrihi mina ʼl-bilād wa-lahū dawāwīn wa-kuttāb wa-mubāshirun yatawallūna istikhrāja amwālihi wa-l-infāq fīhi wa lam tataʻarraḍ ʼl-tatār ilā ibṭāl shayʼin min rusūmihi wa-abqūhu ʻalā ʻawāʼid takrīmihi wa-ahl ʼl-rūm yubālighūna fī tabjīl bānīhi raḥimahū ʼllāhu wa-taʻẓīmihi." My translation after al-ʻUmarī, *Al-ʻUmarī's Bericht über Anatolien in seinem Werke Masālik al-abṣār*, 10–11. For an unpublished, abridged translation, see: Crane, "Materials for the Study of Muslim Patronage:" 54–5.

[69] Wolfram Kleiss, "Anatolien und iranische Karavanserails in seldschukischer Zeit," *X. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara 22–26 Eylül 1986—Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991, vol. III: 945–50.

[70] Hamza Gündoğdu, "Iğdır/Şerafeddin Ejder Kervansarayı," in: Hakkı Acun (ed.) *Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Kervansarayları*, Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2007: 408.

The so-called Şerafeddin Ejder Caravanserai near Iğdır lies along the trade route connecting eastern Anatolia to western Iran, on the northern branch of a route that led from Erzurum to Iğdır and Doğubeyazit. There, it merged with the southern branch leading from Erzurum through Ağrı, and the reunited route continued onwards from Doğubeyazıt to Khoy and Tabriz.[71] The building, recently restored, is one of the more well-preserved and studied examples in the region. Though there is no record of the building's date, it has been placed in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century based on stylistic grounds, particularly owing to similarities with monuments in Ani.[72] An excavation in 2006–07, followed by a restoration in 2007–08, revealed the monument's rectangular plan, with a square vestibule leading into a vaulted hall.[73] The vestibule is covered by a cross-ribbed vault, with four small star-shaped openings with *muqarnas* in the ceiling, recalling a simpler version of the *muqarnas* vaults in Erzurum and Ani. The portal, flush with the wall, consists of an ogee arch, retraced with a wide band of geometrical decoration, whose star pattern is similar to that seen in examples across Seljuk Anatolia, including earlier monuments such as the Karatay Han.

Another example of caravanserai in northeastern Anatolia is the so-called Köprüköy Han near Erzurum, built around 1300. It has been attributed to Choban Noyan (d. 727/ 1327), who was governor of Anatolia under Ghāzān Khān and whose son started an uprising in 723/ 1322–23. This attribution, however, like that of a nearby bridge known as Çoban Dede bridge, relies on the account of the seventeenth-century Ottoman traveller Evliyâ Çelebî, rather than on any surviving inscriptions.[74] The caravanserai, ruined almost entirely and known only from excavations, is significant in terms of its location on the trade route that led from Erzurum to Khoy, Marand, and Tabriz, and which was at the juncture of a much-used road from Iran into Anatolia. The Köprüköy Han, with its late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century date, together with the presence of structures such as the Şerafeddin Ejder Caravanserai in the same region, provide, at least to some extent, architectural traces of the trade routes that Pegolotti so clearly described. They also show the degree of integration in trade that existed between the two regions, aided by the reforms of Ghāzān Khān in the 1290s and clearly reflected in the fact that Ilkhanid coins were minted throughout Anatolia by the time of the reign of Uljāytū.[75]

The patrons of the Köprüköy Han and Şerafeddin Ejder Caravanserai are not known, but the buildings represent the most direct impact of Ilkhanid trade policies in Anatolia, even if Ilkhanid rulers did not commission them. Their location along trade routes that were enhanced in the late thirteenth century—with increasing focus on the Black Sea, Trebizond, and Tabriz—shows that there was a need to enforce the caravanserai network in northeastern Anatolia,

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71 Gündoğdu, "Iğdır/Şerafeddin Ejder Kervansarayı," Fig. 1: 404.

72 Rahmi Hüseyin Ünal, "Iğdır yakınlarında bir Selçuklu kervansarayı ve Doğubeyazıt—Batum kervan yolu hakkında notlar," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 3 (1969–70): 12–14.

73 Gündoğdu, "Iğdır/Şerafeddin Ejder Kervansarayı:" 405.

74 Hamza Gündoğdu, "Köprüköy Hanı," *(Atatürk Üniversitesi) Güzel Sanatlar Enstitüsü Dergisi* 4 (1998): 80. On the bridge: Ünal, *Monuments islamiques:* 153–7; Konyalı, *Abideleri ve kitabeleri ile Erzurum tarihi:* 438–43.

75 Diler, *Ilkhanids:* 379.

a region where the Seljuks had never built much. Though trade continued into the fourteenth century, the Ilkhanid realm was in a deep fiscal crisis, in part due to a loss of control over various regions, including Anatolia.

Taxation and tax inscriptions

In an attempt to counter these financial straits, during the reign of Abu Sa'īd (r. 716–36/ 1316–35), inscriptions to prevent the illegal collection of taxes were added to pre-existing monuments in Ankara, Ani, and Kırşehir, perhaps by local governors who feared a loss of control. These inscriptions marked the Ilkhanids' fiscal claim over the respective cities in which they were placed, and were sometimes used to settle disputes, though it is not clear how effective they actually were; indeed, the decline of the Ilkhanid realm, owing in part to financial difficulties, suggests that they did not accomplish very much. No similar inscriptions are known from Iran, possibly suggesting that emphasizing the enforcement of taxation was especially necessary in Anatolia. An inscription over the southern gate of Ankara's citadel remains in place to this day (Figures 4.1a and 4.1b)—the only trace of direct Ilkhanid influence on the city, or rather of a somewhat desperate attempt to retain it. The text, for the most part, is an exhortation to charge proper taxes and to avoid abuses:

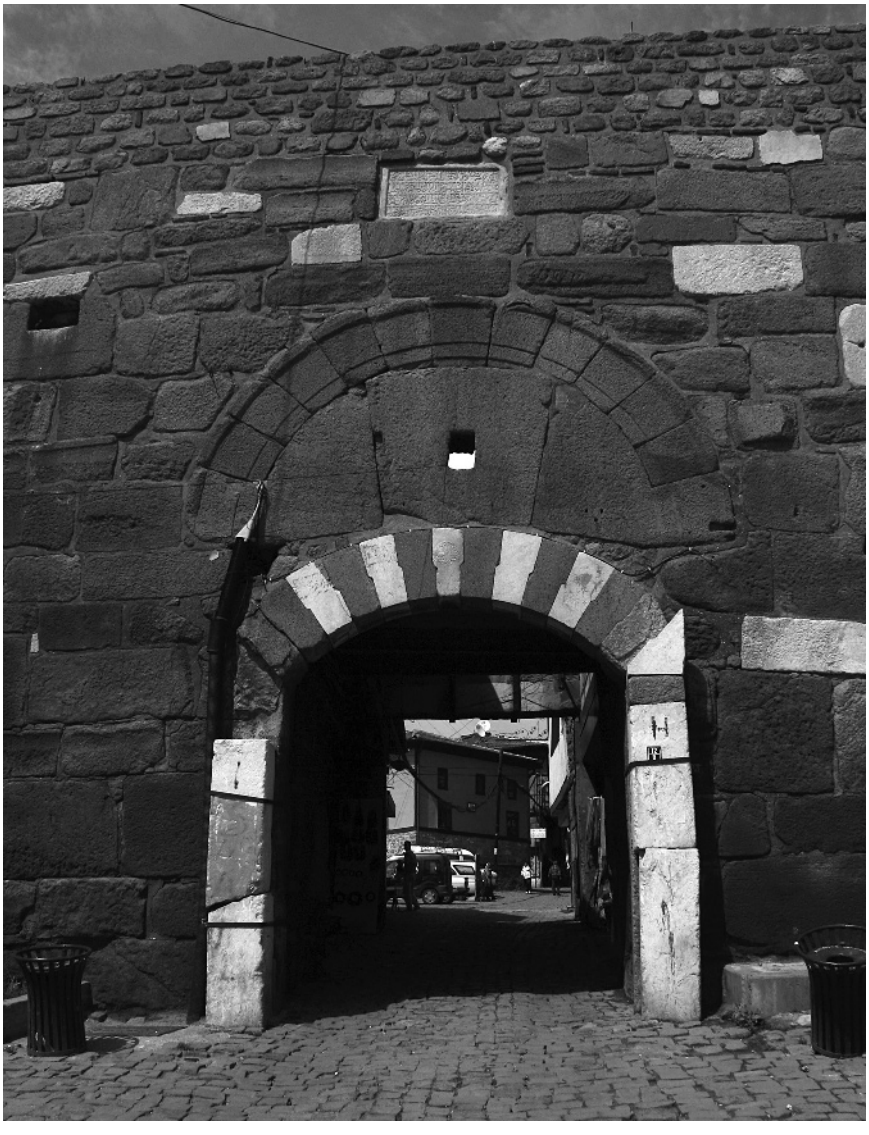
> God makes things easy. When, according to the decree of the great king, the arrival[76] occurred in Ankara, the peasants complained of the cattle tax and of the [fee for] appraising the wheat harvest. For the remainder of the rule of our *pādishāh* of Islam—may his rule last eternally—the following norm for [tax] collection is valid in the province beginning 1 Adhar 730 [1 March 1330]: Taxes in cash and in kind have been established and noted in the tax register. Hence the city [pays] trade- and commerce tax (*tamgha*), whereas the province pays [according to] our norm for collection. Anyone who henceforth demands a cattle tax and illegal [lit. "new" in a negative sense] tithe or takes even just a bushel of wheat shall be afflicted by the curse of God, the angels, and the Prophets. 'If anyone alters the bequest after hearing it, the guilt of the alteration will fall on them' (Qur'an II: 181). Work of Khalīl.[77]

The edict contained in the inscription was probably directed against the imposition of additional taxes; thus, the population of the city and province of Ankara was to be charged only those taxes ordered directly by the Ilkhanid sultan and recorded in the inscription.[78] The fact that the inscriptions are all in Persian suggests that they were

[76] It is unclear whose arrival is being referred to here, though there may be a connection to the appointment of a governor or tax collector.

[77] The Persian text: "(1) allāh masīr 'l-umūr chūn az ḥukm-i yarlīgh-i jihāngushāyī be-Anqūrīye vuṣūl uftāẕ ra'āyā sabab-i shumāra-yi qabjūr u ḥazar-i ghalla (2) mushtakī būdand davām-i davlat-i pādishāh-i islām-rā khallada mulkahu az avval āẕār sana-yi s̱alaṣīn u sab'amā'ia valāyat-rā yāsā-yi mā ān (3) naqd u jins-i māl mu'īn karda dar daftar muṣabbit kasht ki shahr tamghā bāshad u valāyat yāsāya-mā ba'd 'l-yaum har ki shumāra-yi qabjūr u 'ushr-i muḥdiṣ ṭalab kunad (4) vayā [bar khilāf-i qā'ida-yi maẕkūr (?) dirham (?)-i] vakīl-i ghalla jūyad bi-la'nat-i khudāyi u malā'ika u rusūl bāshad fa-man baddalahu ba'da [mā] sami'ahu fa-innamā ithmuhu 'alā 'lladhīna yubaddilūnahu (Qur'an II: 181) 'amal Khalīl." Transliteration after Walther Hinz, "Steuerinschriften aus dem mittelalterlichen Vorderen Orient," *Belleten* XIII/ 51 (July 1949): 746.

[78] Hinz, "Steuerinschriften:" 750–52.



4.1a Citadel, Ankara, Ilkhanid inscription over entrance, author's photograph

copies of documents sent from the Ilkhanid center, where Persian was the prevalent administrative language.[79] The act of inscribing this edict, which was presumably brought from the Ilkhanid court to Ankara in its original paper form, established a permanent reminder of the document. Despite the fact that the inscription is devoid of legal value since it doesn't contain a ruler's seal, it established a public copy—widely visible to the population and intelligible to those literate in Persian

[79] Arsenio Peter Martinez, "Changes in Chancery Language and Language Changes in General in the Middle East with particular reference to the Arab and Mongol Periods," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 7 (1987–91): 137–44.

4.1b Citadel, Ankara, detail of Ilkhanid inscription over entrance, author's photograph

(probably just a literate urban elite, as Hillenbrand suggests)[80]—of an edict that the ruler had issued. On the other hand, the inscription's placement, quite high above the portal of the citadel, and its rather small script suggest that its presence was more important than the diffusion of its content. In some ways, the addition of such an inscription to reflect a document in a visible and durable form is closely related to the *waqf* inscription in the Yakutiye Medrese in Erzurum, discussed in Chapter 3. However, due to its location on a city gate,[81] in a publicly accessible space, the Ankara inscription was more visible than that of the Yakutiye Medrese, which was only apparent to those who entered the building.

The tax inscription in Ankara is not unique—several other examples have been preserved in Anatolia, all either dated to the reign of sultan Abū Sa'īd (r. 716–36/ 1316–35), or so similar in content to the Ankara inscription that the are probably contemporary. This is the case with an undated inscription on the Cacabey Medrese in Kırşehir, a monument dated 671/ 1272–73. The text, which does not include a date or attribution to a ruler, declares the abolition of several taxes and warns against infractions:

> Since the luminous consequences of the justice of the ruler, may God prolong his rule, extend over all subjects, it is ordered that the taxes for the local governor (*shaḥnagī*) and for the [obligation to] provide for construction materials (*tābqūr*), as well as the soap and lane tax (*maṭraḥ-i ṣābūn va kūcha*)[82] be lifted. According to the order the world obeys, these wrong burdens must be repealed in their entirety, and

[80] Hillenbrand, "Rāvandī, the Seljuk court at Konya:" 157–69.

[81] With the caveat that is unclear whether the current position of the inscription is original or owing to secodary use.

[82] On the definitions of these various fees and taxes, see: Hinz, "Steuerinschriften:" 754–5.

> prayers for the continuity of the victorious realm must be extended. From now on, may God's curse, wrath, and ire fall upon those who levy or attempt to levy this burden, as well as the tax on linseed and the fee for public kitchens.[83]

In the early twentieth century, a third such tax inscription—now lost—was excavated in Ani, the medieval Armenian city in northeastern Anatolia.[84] Originally, the inscription was part of an exterior wall of the so-called Manuchehr mosque.[85] The wall collapsed in the 1890s and was reassembled by 1908, during excavations conducted at the site under the direction of the Russian archaeologist Nikolai Marr.[86] The inscription, again dated to the rule of Abū Sa'īd, is similar in content to those in Kırşehir and Ankara:

> God is clement to his servants. Abū Sa'īd Bahādur Khān. An edict (*yarlīgh*), which is issued at this time from the site of the throne of the lord of the surface of the world, the wise sultan 'Alā' al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn,[87] may God prolong his rule—from East to West the worlds are under his grace and justice—may God the All-High let this order and command come to completion. Just as the surface of the earth depends on his command, and the *dīvān* on his pen, nobody must be allowed to alter or add to this edict in any way. The order is that nothing but the *tamgha* and customs duty may be levied, and nothing may be taken from anyone on the basis of *qalān, nämäri, ṭarḥ*, and similar [taxes]. Before, *qalān, nämäri,* and other unwarranted taxes were taken from the city of Ani and from other provinces in Georgia as *ṭarḥ.* Violence was applied, the peasants left, and the stewards of city and province, because of *qalān* and *tarnāgīr*, left lands, farms, and houses. The order was written so that God the All-High [would not] withdraw his shadow from the heads [of his servants].[88]

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[83] "(1) chūn āthār-i anvār-i ma'adalat-i bandeaī khallada allāh mulkahu bar kāffa-yi barāyā tābān ast farmūda kī shaḥnagī ve tābqūr ve maṭraḥ-i ṣābūn ve kūcha murtafi' bāshad az ḥukm-i (2) jahān-i muṭā' īn ma'ānī sī'a-rā bil-kullīya murtafi' dānast dar du'ā'-yi davām-i ayyām-i davlat-i qāhira afzāyand u ba'd 'l-yaum harki vaż'-i īn ma'ānī kunad vayā dar ān sa'ī namāyad dar la'nat u sukḥṭ u ghażb-i ilāhī bāshad (3) hamchunān tamghā-yi kattān kāshta u vajh-i māl-i āshpazī (4) murtafi' ast." My transliteration and translation after Hinz, "Steuerinschriften:" 753.

[84] For photographs of the inscription, see: Wilhelm Barthold, "Die persische Inschrift an der Manucehr-Moschee zu Ani," Deutsche Bearbeitung von W. Hinz, *ZDMG* CI (N.F. XXVI) 1951: Tafel I and Tafel II (between pages 242 and 243). For a drawing indicating the location of the inscription within the larger context of the ruined mosque, see: Nikolai Yavkovlevitch Marr, *Ani—Knizhnaja istorija i raskopki na meste gorodishtcha,* Leningrad and Moscow: Ogiz, Gosudarstvennoe sotsial'noekonomicheskoe izdatel'stvo, 1934, Fig. 262.

[85] Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia:* 198–9; on the mosque, see: Beyhan Karamağaralı, "Ani Ulu Cami (Manucehr Camii)," *9th International Congress of Turkish Art, contributions: 23–27 September 1991*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1995: 323–38.

[86] Barthold, "Die persische Inschrift:" 243.

[87] The Ilkhanid sultan's full name and titles were Abū Sa'īd Bahādur Khān 'Alā' al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn.

[88] "(1) allāh laṭīf bi-'abbādihi (2) Abū Sa'īd Bahādur Khān (3) yarlīgh darīn vaqt ki az takhtgāh-i pādishāh-i rūya zamīn (4) sulṭān-i 'ālim 'alā' 'l-dunyā va 'l-dīn khallada mulkahu (5) ki az mashriq tā maghrib jahāniyān dar sāy-ye marḥamat u ma'dalat avānad ḥaqq-i ta'ālā ḥukm u farmānash-rā bi-ziyādat bi-tamām rasānd (6) u dīgar ḥukm-i chunānast ki chunānak rūya zamīn bi-farmān ḥukm-i dīvān bi-sar-i qalam ūst tā hīch afrīda kam va bish natavānad kard (7) u bi-ghayr az tamghā u bāj bi-rāstī chīzī dīgar nastānand u az hīch afrīde ba-ghallat qalān u namārī u ṭarḥ u ghayra chīzī nakhwāhand (8) chunānak bīshtar azīn bar shahr Anī u dīgar valāyat-i Gurjistān sabab-i qalān u namārī u ḥavālāt nā-vājib u ṭarḥ ziyādnī (9) karde būdand u zūr rasānīda rūye najrābī nahāda u ra'āyā mutafarriq gushta u kadhkhudāyān-i shar-i velāyet sabab-i qalān u tarnākīr mulk (10) u asbāb u khān u mān khūd-rā guẕāshta u rafta ḥukm navashtand ki ḥaqq-i ta'ālā sāi-yi a'lā az sar." Transliteration after Barthold, "Die persische Inschrift:" 243–4. For a German translation by Walther Hinz, see: Barthold, "Die persische Inschrift:" 244–5.

The text is complex, mentioning different types of taxes that the Ilkhanid state recognized as legitimate, versus those that were considered problematic.[89] While the exact purpose of these taxes is not relevant to this discussion, the inscriptions clearly show that by the 1330s the levying of randomly imposed taxes had become a serious problem; more importantly, the revenue that the Ilkhanid treasury lost as a result of local notables' appropriation of taxes was significant, as reflected in account books and in Qazvīnī's description of Anatolia.

Taken together, the inscriptions are a rare example of documents that attest to direct Ilkhanid involvement in Anatolia. They were intended to curb additional taxation by local power-holders, who began to establish their sovereignty as Ilkhanid control faltered. The effect of these inscriptions—or rather, of these Ilkhanid edicts reproduced for public memory—in Anatolian cities is not known. Considering that the region came under the rule of various local principalities after the end of the Ilkhanid dynasty a few years later, the impact can only have been short-lived. Moreover, the absence of Ilkhanid commissions for monuments in Anatolia in this period shows that the Ilkhanids were no longer making large investments and endowments here; their goal was to maintain existing control—an endeavor that eventually failed—rather than to extend their hold over a troublesome region. An analysis of buildings in Ankara, Amasya, and Tokat from the 1290s to the 1330s reveals how patronage became increasingly localized, and how foundations were established primarily for the use of local communities, including many Sufis and Akhīs.

Architecture in Anatolia around 1300: *zāwiya*s and mausolea, and their patrons

Surviving buildings in Anatolia built between the 1290s and 1330s tend to be smaller than monuments from the previous period, with "convents"—variously known as *zāwiya* or *khānqāh*—for Sufi and Akhī communities, and freestanding mausolea prevailing over larger structures such as mosques and madrasas. This emphasis on structures that relate to local communities continued into the late fourteenth century, when, as Wolper argues, it reflected the development of a civic identity reliant on such foundations and their occupants.[90] To a large extent, the absence of direct patronage from the Ilkhanid center, along with the Ilkhanids' waning ability to extract taxes, freed up resources for use by local communities—the tax inscriptions I have just discussed are, in fact, a record of this dire economic situation. While in the early thirteenth century the Seljuk sultan had been able to order the *amīr*s of his realm to supervise and finance the construction of the city walls of Sinop despite their protests, in the late thirteenth century the centralized

[89] For a discussion of the more common taxes, such as *qalan* (tribute for military purposes), *qubchur* (cattle tax), and *tamgha* (customs duty), see: Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians (1220–1335):* 111–20.

[90] Wolper, *Cities and Saints:* 74–81.

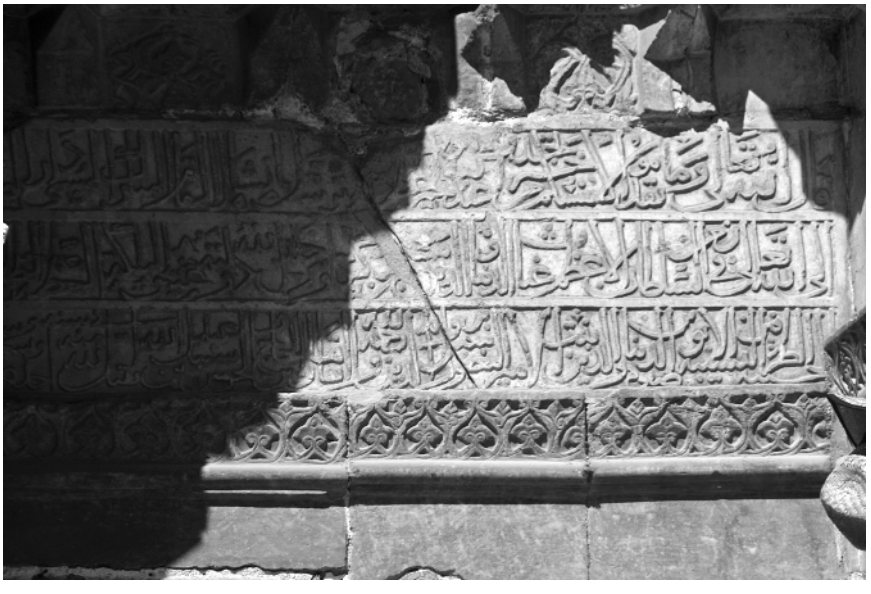
4.2 Sünbül Baba *zāwiya*, Tokat, view, author's photograph

administrative structure that had allowed him to do so was no longer in place.[91] This left local notables and communities in Anatolia free to invest their property without imperial interference—increasingly so as Ilkhanid control faltered.

In analyzing the strong local identities clearly in evidence at the time and their expression through architecture, the focus here will be on the architecture and *waqfiya*s of a few smaller foundations. Even though only a few *waqfiya*s from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries have survived, and even fewer belong to extant monuments, the documents provide important insight into the scale of the endowments and the communities involved in establishing them. One of the rare cases in which both the monument and related *waqf* document are preserved is the Sünbül Baba *zāwiya* in Tokat, built in 691/ 1292 (Figure 4.2). The foundation inscription is carved in four lines on a rectangular slab of stone placed directly over the doorway (Figure 4.3):

> God the All-High spoke: Whatever good you store up for yourselves you will find with God, better and with a greater reward. Ask God for His forgiveness [part of Qur'an LXXIII: 20]. Sunbul b. 'Abdallāh begged for grace by building this blessed abode, called house of piety [i.e. a structure reserved for Sufis] for God the All-High during the time of the greatest sultan Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn [Mas'ūd] bin Kaykāwūs, may God extend his rule, the manumitted slave of the great, brilliant, generous queen venerated for her double ascendance Ṣafwat al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn,

[91] Redford, "Seljuqs and the Antique:" 152–3; The inscriptions and the contribution of individual *amīr*s are analyzed in detail in: Redford: "Sinop in the Summer of 1215."



4.3 Sünbül Baba *zāwiya*, Tokat, foundation inscription, author's photograph

> daughter of the late *amīr* Mu'īn al-Dīn *pervāne*, may God have mercy on him [the *amīr*], and preserve her [Ṣafwat al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn], the ornament of the pilgrimage and of the two sacred precincts [Mecca and Medina], may God accept [this] from him, in the year 691 [1292].[92]

Unfortunately, the structure has been much altered over time—not surprisingly, given that is was still being used as a *zāwiya* as late as 1908.[93] When facing the portal, a two-story building that houses a dentist's office is attached flush with the late thirteenth-century portal and extends over the top section of the truncated portal where a cornice would have been. The remaining part of the portal is made of light grey marble, which stands out from the rubble construction of the wall. Over the pointed doorway, the foundation inscription is located below a narrow *muqarnas* hood. The decoration is plain: the two engaged colonnettes at the corners of the niche leading to the doorway are devoid of ornamentation, except for a few stylized vegetal scrolls and palmettes on their angular capitals. The rectangular moldings that surround the *muqarnas* hood are composed of plain marble, except for a narrow band that runs directly along the engaged colonnettes, which is decorated with a stylized acanthus pattern.

[92] "qāla 'llāhu ta'ālā wa mā taqaddamū li-anfusikum min khayrin tajidūhu 'inda 'llāhi huwa hayran wa a'ẓama ajran wa-istaghfiraw 'llāha [part of Qur'an LXXIII:20] tawassala bi-inshā' hadhā 'l-maqām 'l -mubārak 'l -musammī dāru 'l-ṣulaḥā ilā 'llāhi ta'ālā fī zamani 'l-sulṭān 'l-a'ẓam Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn (Mas'ūd) bin Kaykāwūs khallada 'llāhu dawlatahū 'atīq 'l-malika 'l -mu'aẓẓama 'l -muṭahara 'l -mukarima ilā 'l-ṭarīfayn 'l-nasība 'l-abawayn Ṣafwat al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn bint 'l-amīr 'l-maghfūr Mu'īn al-Dīn barwāna [sic! – Arabic spelling of *pervāne*] raḥimahū 'llāhu wa abqāhā zaynu 'l-ḥāj wa 'l-haramayn Sunbul bin 'Abdallāh taqabbala 'llāhu minhu fī sana iḥdā wa tis'īn wa sab'amā'ia." My transliteration and translation after *RCEA*, no. 4959.

[93] Saim Savaş, "Tokat'ta Hoca Sünbül Zaviyesi," *Vakıflar Dergisi* XXIII (1993): 204–5 for documents relating to the use of the building at this date.

The monument is noted as being one of few commissioned by a female patron who may have been closely related to the Seljuk house. In her article on female patrons of buildings intended for use by Sufi communities, Wolper argues that the inscription of the Sünbül Baba *zāwiya* emphasizes the royal Seljuk lineage, insofar as a daughter of Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne*, known by her honorific title Ṣafwat al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn rather than her personal name, is presented here as being doubly connected to the Seljuk house.[94] These ties, either marital or through her mother (who is unknown),[95] and the explicit statement that the patron was Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne*'s daughter, create a powerful dynastic claim, at least locally in Tokat, a city in which her father had been influential.[96] Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne* was long dead at that point, executed for treason by order of the Ilkhanid ruler after the Mamluk invasion of Anatolia in 675/ 1277. Thus, the reference to the patron's father may have been a nostalgic evocation of the family's glorious past, or a reminder of her personal lineage. The reference to the Seljuk sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Masʿūd b. Kaykāwūs (r. 681–700/ 1282–1301, with several interruptions) was probably included out of epigraphic convention. Within the context of Tokat, however, it may also have implied a statement against Mongol rule in an area where Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervāne*'s family became powerful for several decades from the 1260s to the 1290s, as a number of foundations in that city, Sinop, and Merzifon suggest.[97]

The *waqfiya* of the Sünbül Baba *zāwiya* has not been preserved in its original form from the time of construction, but two documents dated 725/ 1325 are probably connected to the building.[98] The *waqfiya*s in question discuss a posterior endowment made for "the welfare of the *khānqāh*, which the late *ḥājj*, the eunuch[99] Khwāja Saʿīd b. Sunbul, who has been forgiven, built in the city of Tokat."[100]

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[94] As a caveat to Wolper's argument, this honorific title, translated as 'Purity of the World and Religion' was popular for female patrons of some standing, although it has been suggested that a lady with noble connections would be more likely to carry the title 'Işmat al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn: İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtına Medhal*, third edititon, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1984: 61.

[95] It is unclear who Ṣafwat al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn's mother was, and whether it was Gurjī Khātūn, who would provide the Seljuk connection through her first marriage to sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw. For more on Gurjī Khātūn, see Chapter 1. An unnamed "daughter of the Parvāna in Tokat" is mentioned in Aflākī, *The Feats of the Knowers of God*, tr. O' Kane: 502.

[96] Ethel Sara Wolper, "Princess Safwat al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn and the production of Sufi buildings and hagiographics in pre-Ottoman Anatolia," in: D. Fairchild Ruggles (ed.) *Women, Patronage, and Self-representation in Islamic societies*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2000: 42–3.

[97] Şahin, "Pervane Muineddin Süleyman."

[98] VGM 484–137–226 and VGM 484–309–20. In the latter document, the patron is named as Begler Chalabī [Çelebi] son of Chalabī [Çelebi] Tāj al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Ṣādim al-Dawla wa-l-Dīn Aḥmad (VGM 484–309–20, lines 9–10). I thank Nicolas Trépanier for sharing his digital images and partial translation of these documents with me. Wolper, "Princess," n. 12 refers to one of the two documents, without discussing the attribution to the monument. Savaş's article correctly identifies both versions of the document and carefully discusses the names of the founder in the foundation inscription, versus the variants in the document: Savaş, "Tokat'ta Hoca Sünbül Zaviyesi," n. 12 and 201–02.

[99] Savaş, "Tokat'ta Hoca Sünbül Zaviyesi," 200 suggests this reading. In the document, two letters precede the word *ṭawāshī* (eunuch), making a reading as Ūṭūshī possible. I thank Nicolas Trépanier for this suggestion.

[100] "'alā 'l-maṣāliḥ 'l-khānqāh 'lladhī anshā' 'l-ḥājj 'l-marḥūm 'l-maghfūr ṭawāshī khwāja [*hoca*] Saʿīd b. Sunbul bi-madīnati Tūqāt." VGM 484–137–226, lines 26–27. A facsimile of the document is published in Savaş, "Tokat'ta Hoca Sünbül Zaviyesi:" 206–07.

This Sa'īd b. Sunbul may be a son of Sunbul b. 'Abdallāh, the founder named in the building inscription of the Sünbül Baba *zāwiya*.[101] This monument is one of the rare early examples for which foundation documents have been preserved, albeit in this case one that was established after the death of the founder and his son. The document does not refer to the building beyond naming it and describing its location within Tokat. Consequently, it does not serve as a source on the state of the building at the time the *waqfiya* was established, but instead presents a revised version of the endowment two generations later.

The Sünbül Baba *zāwiya* is only one of a group of mausolea and *zāwiya*s built in Tokat in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. Inscriptions on three of these structures—the Sünbül Baba *zāwiya*, Abū Shams *zāwiya* (687/ 1288–9), and Halef Gazi *zāwiya* (691/ 1291)—confirm their foundation in the name of female patrons.[102] These texts may express the rivalry between two, or possibly three, local noblewomen; the Halef Gazi *zāwiya* inscription was formulated in such a way as to outdo the other two in terms of its emphasis on the patron's direct descent from the Seljuk rulers.[103]

The inscriptions on some of these monuments, including the Sünbül Baba *zāwiya*, still refer to the Seljuk sultans. Those built in the early fourteenth century, after the conversion of the Ilkhanid rulers to Islam, mention the ruling Ilkhanid sultan, unless no overlord at all is named. This shift in proclaimed allegiance on the part of the patrons is not reflected in the architecture, but remains purely at the level of textual attribution. In other words, the verbal statement of Ilkhanid allegiance was superficial and did not translate into the adoption of the style of Ilkhanid architecture in Iran. Instead, in Iran, large-scale monuments, such as the Great Mosque in Varamin (722/ 1322), were built to compete with the Mamluk rulers in Egypt and Syria, with whom the Mongols were in constant conflict.[104] This monumental architecture did not extend to Anatolia, a region that remained at the edge of the Mongol realm, and where Mongol patrons relied on local connections. Rather, architecture in Anatolia continued to be inseparable from local materials and forms, even as the region became more closely integrated into the Ilkhanid realm at both the political and the economic level.

The architecture of the *zāwiya*s in Tokat contains, for example, strong local references to monuments such as the Gök Medrese in Tokat, probably built in the 1270s, and uses the reddish stone of the region, for instance on the façade of the mausoleum of Nūr al-Dīn b. Sentīmūr. Even though the *zāwiya*s and mausolea in Tokat were built in the same city within a short period of time, on first impression they appear rather different from one another, and it is only upon closer observation that the significant number of local references they share becomes apparent in their details. Considering this high degree of stylistic continuity, it is difficult to give credence to the argument that Ilkhanid rule was disruptive to construction, as one

[101] Savaş, "Tokat'ta Hoca Sünbül Zaviyesi:" 200–01.
[102] *RCEA,* no. 4903, no. 4959, no. 4960.
[103] Wolper, "Princess:" 44.
[104] O'Kane, "Monumentality in Mongol and Mamluk Architecture;" Necipoğlu, "Challenging the Past".

4.4 Mausoleum of Nūr al-Dīn b. Sentimūr, Tokat, view, author's photograph

4.5 Mausoleum of Nūr al-Dīn b. Sentimūr, Tokat, foundation inscription, author's photograph

study of the area's architectural decoration has suggested.[105] Rather, local ties are confirmed both by the style of the architecture and the monuments' patrons, locally important figures who could act at a level that did not attract Ilkhanid attention.

Indeed, several examples in Tokat further corroborate the case for a shared local influence. The mausoleum of Nūr al-Dīn b. Sentīmūr (Figure 4.4) was built in 713/1313, as stated in the foundation inscription (Figure 4.5) placed over a window: "This is the mausoleum of the late *amīr*, Nūr al-Dīn b. Sentīmūr, may God have mercy with him. He died in the middle of Dhū 'l-qa'da in the year 713 [March 1313]."[106]

The base of the mausoleum, square and built of stone, supports a pointed brick dome. The zone of transition is also made of brick and features an arched panel at the center of each side of the square and triangular squinches over the corners. Decoration of the mausoleum is limited to the door and window frames. The foundation inscription on the west window is carved on a rectangular slab of grey marble. It is inserted into the wall below an arch of whitish stone, which is decorated with a geometric pattern and closed off at the bottom with a band of the same pattern. Below this, palmettes and leaves are carved plastically into reddish stone. This panel, in the shape of a rounded arch, is enclosed by an inscription in Persian, which is in turn framed by engaged colonnettes and

[105] Şaman Doğan, "Bezemeye Bakış."

[106] "(1) hādhihi turba 'l-amīr 'l-marḥūm Nūr al-Dīn b. Sentimūr raḥimahū 'llāh (2) māta fī awsaṭ dhī 'l-qa'da sanata thalath 'ashar wa-sab'amā'ia," *RCEA*, no. 5326.

decorated with knotted motifs that form the sides of the window.[107] The pointed arched band that encloses the foundation inscription runs down to the base of the window. It is decorated with a smaller version of the same palmette motif that dominates the panel of red stone over the window (Plate 10). This motif is taken up yet again on the capitals from which the pointed arch of the window recess springs. The corresponding colonnettes are missing today. A carved rectangular frame with a zigzag pattern closes off the window ensemble towards the wall, reaching down to the base of the missing engaged colonnettes. The door of the mausoleum takes the form of a segmental arch composed of red and grey stones in a double-rhomboid pattern. Over the door, an inscription reads "*kullu nafsin dhā'iqatu 'l-mawt*" ("every soul will taste death," Qur'an, III: 185)—a reminder of the patron's and visitors' mortality and of the building's function as a place of burial. No overlord is mentioned here, and the inscription contains little detail about the building or its patron.

More specific information is included in the foundation inscription of the *tekke* of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (also known as the *tekke* of Ahi Muhittin) (Figure 4.6), which was built only four years later:

> Approaching God the All-High and begging for his benevolence. This building, a house for those who say thanks and for those who recite *dhikr* [both references to Sufi practices], was ordered during the days of the rule of the greatest sultan Abū Sa'īd, may God support his rule. The weakest of the slaves of God, 'Abdallāh b. al-Muḥyī, may God support his happiness, endowed it on 10 Rabī' 'l-ākhar in the year 717 [20 June 1317].[108]

Here, the connection between the building and a local Sufi community is made in the inscription with reference to the practice of *dhikr*, the meditative repetition of the name of God so important in Sufi rituals. The patron, 'Abdallāh b. 'l-Muḥyī, about whom nothing else is known, may have been connected to this community. The *waqf* document of this *tekke* has been preserved and is dated 719/ 1319, two years after the construction of the building. It probably records the original endowment, in keeping with the practice (discussed in Chapter 1), common in medieval Anatolia, of drafting such documents several years after a monument's construction and sometimes adding amendments later. The endowment includes several villages in the environs of Tokat, a garden, and a mill, intended to finance the maintenance of the *zāwiya* and mausoleum.[109] All of these connected properties are in the vicinity of Tokat, reinforcing the idea that it was indeed local patrons who constructed and endowed monuments locally.

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[107] "Parastīdan dādgar pīsha kun, zarūz guẕar kardan andīsha kun, bitarsī az khudā va mīyāzār kas, rah rastagārī hamīn ast ve bas." Uzunçarşılı, *Tûḳâd, Nîksâr, Zîle, Ṭûrkhâl, Pâzâr, Amâsya vilâyeti, ḳazâ ve nâḥiye merkezlerindeki kitâbeleri:* 17.

[108] "taqarruban ilā 'llāh taṣālā wa ṭalaban li-marḍātihi (2) 'umira hādha 'l-binā' wa-huwa dār 'l-shākirīn wa-ma'wā 'l-dhākirīn fī ayyām dawla 'l-sulṭān 'l-a'ẓam Abī Sa'īd b. Uljāytū sulṭān ayyada 'llāhu dawlatahū (3) wa-waqafa 'l-inshā'a aḍ'af 'abbād 'llāh 'Abdallāh b. 'l-Muḥyī a'ānahu 'llāh bi-tawfīqihi fī 'ashara rabī' 'l-ākhar sanata sab'ata 'ashara wa-sab'amā'ia." My transcription and translation after *RCEA*, no. 5389.

[109] VGM 608–63–52.

4.6 Tekke of ʻAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Tokat, foundation inscription, author's photograph

Other small structures built in Tokat between 689/ 1290 and 725/ 1335 include the Acepşir Türbe, which is dated 717/ 1317 in a fragmentary foundation inscription that refers to the Ilkhanid sultan Abū Saʻīd.[110] Similar structures were also built in other Anatolian cities, including Sivas, Kayseri, and Niksar, although not many of them have survived until today. However, even though the monuments themselves no longer exist, several *waqfiya*s connected to *zāwiya*s have been preserved.[111] As in the case of the *tekke* of ʻAbd al-Muṭṭalib, these documents record properties, including arable lands and villages in the region, springs, and occasionally real estate within the city. The patrons appear to be figures of some local importance, but without the political ties that would have led to their being recorded in the chronicles of the period. The properties connected to the *waqf*s are generally much smaller than mid-thirteenth century endowments such as those of Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy or Ṣāḥib ʻAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʻAlī, discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. In many cases the founders are less well-known figures—the leaders of local Sufi and Akhī communities, for example; thus, the documents are often the only surviving records of the founders, as well as of the witnesses who signed them. In terms of patronage, it is clear that these figures were important for maintaining a certain level of building activity, though on a much smaller scale than in preceding decades.

[110] "[...] for ʻAjabshīr during the days of the rule of the greatest sultan Abū Saʻīd b. sultan Muḥammad, may [...] prolong [...] from them in the beginning of Jumāda I in the year 717 [July 1317]." In Arabic: "... li-ʻAjabshīr fī ayyām dawla 'l-sulṭān 'l-ʻaẓam Abī Saʻīd b. sulṭān Muḥammad khallada ... (2)... minhā fī awā'il jumāda 'l-ūlā sanata sabʻatʻashara wa-sabʻamā'ia." My transliteration and translation after *RCEA*, no. 5390.

[111] Examples are the endowments of Ḥasan Beg bin Salvī for the Ḥasūm Bek *zāwiya* in Kayseri (677/ 1278), VGM 730–52–27 (a later copy in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish); İskender Efendi b. Abduljabbār, Sivas, VGM 594–102–0090; Shams al-Dīn known as Nahjivānzāde Akhī Nahjivān, for a *zāwiya* in the name of the founder in the village of Faydi near Niksar, VGM 2157–135–101, see: Oral, "Ahi Ahmet Nahcivanî vakfiyesi."

Indeed, in the absence of Ilkhanid patronage in Anatolia, these local patrons enabled the survival of craftsmen and architects. In addition to Sufi groups—both well-known ones such as the Mawlawīya in Konya and less well-known ones in Tokat and Amasya—so-called Akhī communities were also important in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Anatolia. It is not quite clear how these groups related to the Sufi communities, though it seems that some degree of overlap in affiliation and rituals was often possible. To some extent, the Akhī groups were related to the *futuwwa*, associations of young men who shared certain principles of communal life and solidarity, which had emerged in Baghdad in the tenth century.[112] These associations moved in courtly Abbasid circles during the rule of caliph al-Nāṣir (r. 577–620/ 1181–1223) and were introduced into Anatolia when *shaykh* Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/ 1234) was sent to the Seljuk court in Konya to convey the caliph's approval to sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād (r. 616–36/ 1220–37).[113] There, Suhrawardī performed the rituals of the courtly *futuwwa*, which may have encouraged the development of Akhī communities to some extent.[114] While on this mission to Konya in 1221, Suhrawardī began to emphasize the connection between *futuwwa* and Sufism more strongly; he also established a system of hierarchies, which would have appealed particularly to the urban populations of Konya after the Mongol conquest, where these structures—subsequently further transmitted through several treatises written by local scholars in Anatolia—conveyed a sense of stability.[115] These Akhī communities, which included Sufi groups, emerged as powerful local forces, assuming responsibilities such as hosting travelers (including, very prominently, the traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who praised the hospitality of Akhīs in several Anatolian cities)[116] and commissioning monuments. While the community of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (discussed in Chapter 1) had been the recipient of patronage from the Seljuk elites in the mid-thirteenth century, community leaders now became patrons in their own right, filling the gap that emerged in the absence of royal or otherwise elite patronage. Although the monuments these leaders built were often relatively small, their patronage also often involved considerable investments in restoring and expanding existing buildings, as is apparent in the case of Ankara.

ANKARA: AHİ ŞERAFEDDİN MOSQUE AND MAUSOLEUM

The Ahi Şeradfeddin Mausoleum in Ankara, built in 731/ 1331, is an excellent example of architecture connected to the rise of patrons associated with *futuwwa*, Akhī, or

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[112] For a detailed study of these groups in Anatolia: Rachel Goshgarian, "Beyond the Social and the Spiritual—Redefining the Urban Confraternities of Late Medieval Anatolia," PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2007.

[113] As Suzan Yalman points out, he is not to be confused with another Suhrawardī (executed in 1191), known as *shaykh al-ishrāq*, who was active in Anatolia in the late twelfth century: Yalman, " 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad Illuminated:" 152, n. 7; for his impact in Anatolia, see ibid.: 169–71.

[114] Claude Cahen and Franz Taeschner, "Futuwwa," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/futuwwa-COM_0228, accessed 1 May 2013.

[115] Rachel Goshgarian, "Futuwwa in thirteenth-century Rūm and Armenia: Reform Movements and the Managing of Multiple Allegiances on the Seljuk Periphery," in: Andrew C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds) *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2013: 231–4.

[116] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa,*Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, vol. 2: 260–65.

4.7 Aslanhane and Ahi Şerafeddin Mausoleum, Ankara, view, author's photograph

Sufi groups. The mausoleum is connected—not physically, but through its patron—to the so-called Ahi Şerafeddin Mosque, more commonly known as the Arslanhane (restored in 689/ 1290), which is located across the street from it (Figure 4.7).[117]

The Arslanhane complex is representative of a number of mosques, most importantly the late fourteenth-century Ahi Elvan Mosque and the substantial number of undated smaller mosques (*masjid*s) that have been dated to the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.[118] With firm dates for the mausoleum and parts of the mosque, the Aslanhane complex is the most representative monument in Ankara of the influence of Akhī communities—in the city under Ilkhanid rule and beyond, until the Ottoman conquest of Ankara in 762/ 1361. These communities were particularly active in Ankara in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and are considered to have been the main ruling force in this central Anatolian city under fading Ilkhanid authority. They were less connected to Sufism than to *futuwwa* groups, which formed communal associations, often linked to certain professions, and assumed strong local authority in the absence of a clear sultanic authority.

[117] The name of Ahi Şerafeddin Mosque is based on a misidentification, probably with reference to a brief memorial inscription that appears inside the mosque, referring to the deceased Sharaf al-Dīn: Katharina Otto-Dorn, "Seldschukische Holzsäulenmoscheen in Kleinasien," in: Richard Ettinghausen (ed.) *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst: Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel zum 75. Geburtstag am 26. 10. 1957*, Berlin: Verlag Gebrüder Mann, 1959: 64 (with reference to Wittek instead of Taeschner); Franz Taeschner, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Achis in Anatolien (14.–15. Jht.) auf Grund neuer Quellen," *Islamica* 4 (1931): 44.

[118] For a catalog of these monuments, see: Gönül Öney, *Ankara'da Türk devri dini ve sosyal yapıları*, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1971.

In Ankara, this authority was concentrated especially in the family of Muḥammad b. Akhī Husām al-Dīn al-Husaynī, also known Akhī Sharaf al-Dīn (d. 751/ 1351), whose mosque and mausoleum are at the center of the discussion here.[119] At the time the mausoleum was built, Akhī communities had been active for several decades, with certain families retaining particularly high levels of authority. Paul Wittek argued that the notion of an Akhī Republic centered in Ankara probably emerged from the Young Turkish Revolution in 1908, as historians tried to assert the presence of such an independent city-state between Seljuk and Ottoman rule. This notion proved to have broad appeal, though Halil Edhem and Fuad Köprülü were quick to argue against it.[120] Indeed, Köprülü clearly dismissed the idea of an independent Akhī state; at the same time, however, he pointed out the importance of the *futuwwa* and Akhī communities in late medieval Anatolia, particularly in terms of bridging craftsmen's practical and spiritual concerns.[121] The relatively limited influence of the Ilkhanids in this region, along with the development of a strong communal identity in Ankara as well as other cities, suggests that local elites had a considerable amount of leverage, at least when it came to making decisions within Ankara. The family of Akhī Sharaf al-Dīn is well documented in a *shajara* (a family tree or genealogical account) dated 682/ 1293, though the actual document is a later, probably fourteenth-century, copy.[122] Written mostly in Arabic with some sections in Persian, the document follows the family through eleven generations, retracing its steps up until the time of Akhī Sharaf al-Dīn in the first half of the fourteenth century (the likely date of the copy, according to Mélikoff), when its authority was at its height.[123] According to the document, the family originally came from Khoy in Iran and migrated to Anatolia during the reign of Qilij Arslan II (r. 550–86/ 1156–92).[124]

The Arslanhane Mosque and Ahi Şerafeddin Mausoleum are located side by side on a sloping site on one flank of the citadel hill of Ankara, with a small street that was probably added at a later date separating the mausoleum from the mosque. Describing the site in the 1930s, Ernest Mamboury mentioned a cemetery connecting the two buildings.[125] The mosque itself is a large rectangular, hypostyle structure, measuring 24 × 21.5 m.[126] In the interior, rows of wooden columns form five aisles running towards the *qibla* wall. The tall wooden columns, supporting a

[119] Mélikoff, "Un document Akhi du XIIIe siècle:" 264.

[120] Paul Wittek, "Zur Geschichte Angoras im Mittelalter," in: *La formation de l'Empire ottoman*, London: Variorum Reprints, 1982, III [first published in Th. Menzel (ed.) *Festschrift Georg Jacob*, Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1932]: 348–9; Halil Edhem (Eldem), "Ankara Ahilerine ait iki kitâbe," *TOEM* 7/ 41(1332/1915): 312–15.

[121] Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *Les origins de l'empire ottoman*, reprint, Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1978 [first published Paris: E. de Boccard, 1935]: 111; Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*, tr. and ed. Gary Leiser, London and New York: Routledge, 2006: 200–01.

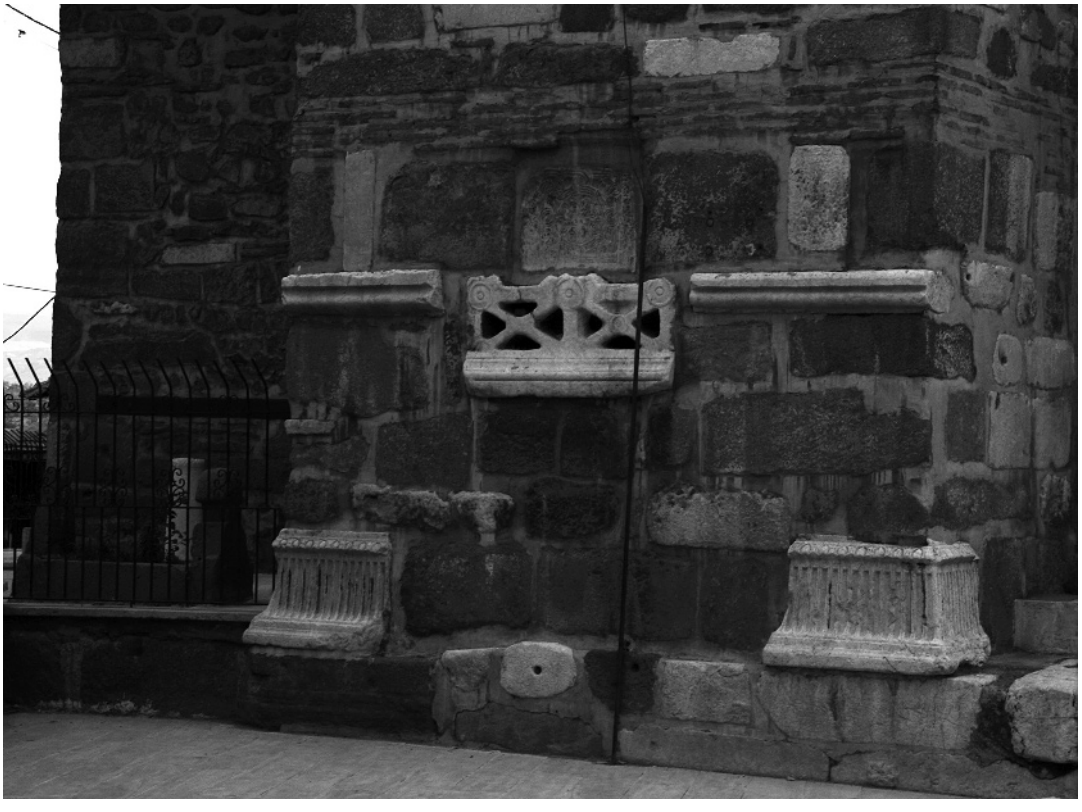
[122] Today, the document is preserved in the Vakıflar Genel Müdurlüğü in Ankara. Photographs of the document are published in: Mélikoff, "Un document Akhi du XIIIe siècle:" 271–5. For the first mention of the document in secondary literature, see: Mübarek Galip, *Ankara*, two vols., Istanbul: Maarif Vekâleti, 1341 [1925]–1928, vol. 1: 48–9.

[123] Mélikoff, "Un document Akhi du XIIIe siècle:" 264, 268.

[124] Mélikoff, "Un document Akhi du XIIIe siècle:" 268.

[125] Ernest Mamboury, *Ankara. Haïdar-Pacha—Ankara: Bogaz-Keuy, Euyuk, Sivri-Hissar et environs, Tchangri, Yozgat, etc. Guide touristique*, Ankara: İç İşleri Bakanlığı, 1933: 215.

[126] Otto-Dorn, "Seldschukische Holzsäulenmoscheen:" Fig. 9.



4.8 Aslanhane, Ankara, detail of spolia, author's photograph

wooden ceiling, end in Roman and Byzantine stone capitals that were appropriated from the surrounding citadel region of the city. The exterior includes numerous spolia blocks (Figure 4.8) in the building fabric of the walls, which are made of stone below and of brick in the upper zones.[127] The minaret, which rises next to the mosque's northern portal, is made of brick, and small fragments of glazed tile are preserved on the upper part of the shaft and on its balcony. The northern portal is built of stone, composed of a carefully carved marble *muqarnas* niche in a simple frame. It leads directly into the women's section of the mosque, a balcony above the main prayer hall, which is possible due to its location on the slanting slope of the citadel mound.

On the western portal of the mosque, a small, fragmentary, undated inscription mentions the name of one *amīr* Sayf al-Dīn; this figure has been identified as *amīr* Sayf al-Dīn Chashnigīr, who returned Ankara to sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs I (r. 608–16/ 1211–20) in 608/ 1211, during the conflict with his brother and later successor, 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād (r. 616–37/ 1220–37). Consequently, the inscription possibly places the initial construction of the mosque in the early thirteenth

[127] de Jerphanion, *Mélanges:* 223–5 contains a detailed description (and images).

century, when Ankara was under Seljuk rule but not a center of Seljuk patronage.[128] The portal is a brick insertion into the rubble masonry of the western wall, with small fragments of tile appearing in the brick lunette above the entrance. In addition to the inscription, according to Meinecke, the placement and construction of the minaret on a stone base suggest an early thirteenth-century date for the first construction phase of the building, with a subsequent enlargement dating to the same period as the wooden *minbar* inside the mosque.[129]

While the mosque's early building phases are not entirely clear, its interior gives several clues regarding its later history. An elaborate wooden *minbar* carries several inscriptions that identify its maker, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, mention two unnamed brothers as patrons (probably referring to members of the Akhī community), and include the date 689/ 1290.[130] The date recorded in the inscription on the *minbar* refers to the construction of the mosque, rather than to the creation of the object itself; consequently, in light of the evidence for an early thirteenth-century phase of construction, it is likely that a major restoration took place at this date. The identification of the patrons as Ḥasan al-Dīn and Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥusayn, uncle and father of Akhī Sharaf al-Dīn, relies primarily on the more detailed inscriptions on the latter's mausoleum and on his family's *shajara*.[131] The mosque's *miḥrāb*, a combination of glazed tile mosaic and stucco, has been attributed to the same restoration as the *minbar*, mostly because the style of the stucco carvings is related to similar, early fourteenth-century examples in Iran, such as the *miḥrāb* in the shrine of Pīr-i Bakrān.[132] The structure of the mosque, with its wooden columns and ceilings, makes it part of a group of such hypostyle buildings, which includes the Great Mosque of Sivrihisar (629/ 1232), the Great Mosque of Afyon Karahisar (670/ 1271–72), the Eşrefoğlu Mosque in Beyşehir (691/ 1292), and possibly the Sahib Ata Mosque in Konya (656/ 1258) (discussed in Chapter 1), before its destruction in a fire in 1871.[133]

The mausoleum of Akhī Sharaf al-Dīn, located across a small alley from the mosque, is a simple structure with a square base that develops into an octagonal transition zone and roof. As in the mosque, spolia are inserted into the fabric of the walls, and a foundation inscription placed above one of the windows gives the date of construction as 731/ 1330.[134] This was well before the death of the founder Muḥammad b. Akhī Husam al-Dīn, known as Akhī Sharaf al-Dīn, who, according to the inscriptions on his elaborately carved wooden cenotaph (now in the Ethnographic

[128] Otto-Dorn, "Seldschukische Holzsäulenmoscheen:" 69; Öney, *Ankara:* 20–21; on the historical background: Wittek, "Zur Geschichte Angoras:" 341–2.

[129] Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen,* vol. 2: 68–9.

[130] Öney, *Ankara'da Türk devri dini ve sosyal yapıları:* 23–4; M. Zeki Oral, "Anadolu'da san'at değeri olan ahşap minberler, kitabeleri ve tarihçeleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi* V (1962): 52; *RCEA*, nos. 4933 and 4934.

[131] Öney, *Ankara'da Türk devri dini ve sosyal yapıları:* 23–4; Otto-Dorn, "Seldschukische Holzsäulenmoscheen," 68; Taeschner, "Beiträge:" 44; Mélikoff, "Un document Akhi du XIIIe siècle:" 265–6 for the names of family members.

[132] Katharina Otto-Dorn, "Der Mihrab der Arslanhane Moschee in Ankara," *Anatolia* 1 (1965): 74; Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen,* vol. 2: 72–3.

[133] Gönül Öney, *Ankara Arslanhane Camii*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990: 9–10.

[134] M. Zeki Oral, "Ahi Şerefüd-din Türbesi ve Sandukası," *Milletlerarasi birinci Türk sanatlari kongresi, Ankara, 19–24 Ekim, 1959: Kongreye sunulan tebliğler*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1962: 307–8 (with the Arabic text and a Turkish translation).

Museum in Ankara), passed away in 751/ 1351.[135] In this foundation inscription he is referred to as the great Akhī (*ahkī mu'aẓẓam*), pointing to his importance in the community of Ankara.[136] The other cenotaphs in the mausoleum include two with tile decoration that are devoid of inscriptions, two belonging to daughters of the founder, and a last one belonging to his father, Akhī Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥusayn.[137]

These buildings are a reflection of the importance of the Akhī communities, and of the family of Akhī Sharaf al-Dīn in particular, in late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Ankara. Within the specifically local context, they are part of the emergence of several mosques throughout the fourteenth century—a development that was to continue under Ottoman rule in the fifteenth century, with buildings such as the shrine complex of Hacı Bayram Veli (833/ 1429–30) and the Karacabey Mosque and Mausoleum (844–48/ 1440–45).[138] The political dynamics had changed completely by then, with the politics of patronage moving towards sponsorship by the Ottoman sultanate and its officials. The Arslanhane Mosque and Ahi Şerafeddin Mausoleum from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, however, were still part of a development similar to that in other eastern Anatolian cities at that time, which were nominally still under Ilkhanid rule, but slowly sliding away from domination by this failing dynasty. Indeed, the only physical trace of Ilkhanid rule in Ankara is the tax inscription on the citadel discussed earlier.

Local elites, often with a Sufi, *futuwwa,* or merchant background, filled the void left by the absentee rulers, who centered their patronage in Iran, where the largest foundations (seen in Chapter 3) were established. This move towards small-scale local patronage is especially apparent in Tokat, Ankara, and—as Wolper has shown—to lesser degrees in Sivas and Amasya in the fourteenth century. This development continued after the demise of the Ilkhanate in 1335, resulting mostly in small-scale construction to serve local communities, until other dynasties—the Ottomans, Karamanids, and (more fleetingly) the Eretnids—took over and began establishing their own networks of patronage in the various aforementioned cities.

However, in the late thirteenth century, Ankara was still an island in terms of its monuments, not so much because of their style as their patrons. The Arslanhane, even though it is the product of extensive restorations of an existing early thirteenth-century building, is one of the few examples of larger structures built in central and eastern Anatolia around 1300, and as such it points to the importance of local patronage during this period of Ilkhanid struggle for domination. The diversity of this patronage at the time is exemplified by the early fourteenth-century Bimarhane hospital in Amasya.

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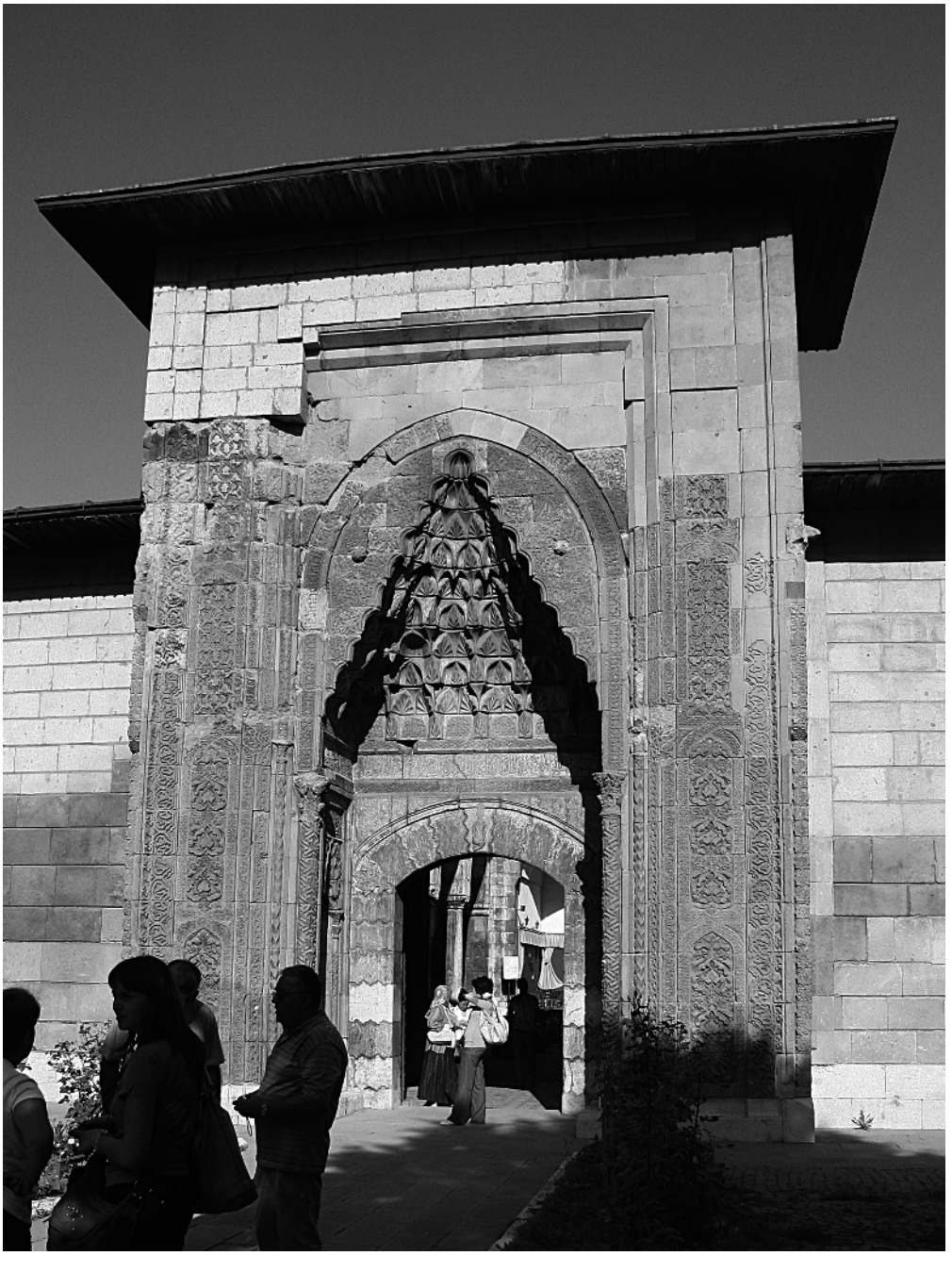
[135] Öney, *Ankara'da Türk devri dini ve sosyal yapıları:* 112; Mübarek Galip, vol. 1: 49; Mamboury, 216; Oral, "Ahi Şerefüd-din Türbesi:" 311–17.

[136] Mélikoff, "Un document Akhi du XIIIe siècle:" 268.

[137] Öney, *Ankara'da Türk devri dini ve sosyal yapıları:* 122; Oral, "Ahi Şerefüd-din Türbesi:" 308–11.

[138] Öney, *Ankara'da Türk devri dini ve sosyal yapıları:* 51–4, 114–16; İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Ankara camileri*, Ankara: Kültür Matbaacılık, 1978: 33–43, 59–63; İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Ankara abidelerinden Karacabey Mamuresi: vakfiyesi, tarihi ve diğer eserleri*, Istanbul: Bürhaneddin Matbaası, 1943.



4.9 Bimarhane, Amasya, view, author's photograph

Amasya: the Bimarhane hospital

The Bimarhane (also known as the Timarhane) hospital, dated 709/ 1308, is the only surviving early-fourteenth-century monument in Amasya (Figure 4.9). The foundation inscription on the portal of the Bimarhane, which is now a music school, evokes one ʻAnbar b. ʻAbdallāh,[139] the date, a woman by the name of Īldūs Khātūn, and the fact that the monument was built during the rule of the Ilkhanid sultan Uljāytū (r. 703–716/ 1304–1316):

> God—may his rule be glorious, has supported the construction of the blessed house of healing during the days of the rule of the exalted sultan, the greatest *khāqān* Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn Uljāytū sulṭān Muḥammad, may God extend his rule, and during the days of the glory of the exalted lady, the queen of the great Īldūs Khātūn may her rule be extended, the weak slave ʻAnbar bin ʻAbdallāh, may God accept [this] from him in the year 709 [1308].[140]

The mention of the patron and of his overlord Uljāytū corresponds to the standard protocol of foundation inscriptions written in Arabic. Less common is the mention of Īldūs Khātūn, a female figure of unknown origin (though probably of some importance, given her titles), though the practice of indirect patronage by a female figure is similar to that observed in Nūr al-Dīn b. Sentīmūr's mausoleum in Tokat.

The Bimarhane's foundation inscription is the only historical text on an otherwise sparsely decorated monument. Qur'anic texts appear on two small rectangular panels inside the portal niche. On the portal, a niche surmounted by *muqarnas* is surrounded by rectangular frames with flatly carved vegetal and geometric decoration. The style of carving is especially striking when compared to the late-thirteenth century monuments of Sivas, which are remarkable for the extreme plasticity of their floral patterns.

In contrast, in the Bimarhane all patterns are cut into the stone in a way that leaves the surface flat, with no elements jutting out from the surface level (Figure 4.10). This type of carving became more frequent in the fourteenth century, and there are examples of it dating to as late as the second half of the fourteenth century, for instance on the Hatuniye Medrese in Karaman near Konya, built in 783–84/ 1381–82.

The plan of the Bimarhane resembles that of a madrasa with two *īwān*s: the portal leads into an elongated rectangular courtyard with shallow arcades on the long sides. Columns and capitals, some of which may be spolia while others with a *muqarna*s pattern were carved expressly for this structure, support the round arches of the arcades. The *īwān*s are placed on the central axis of the building, one forming the entrance vestibule, while the other faces it at the far end of the courtyard, framed by tall pointed arches.

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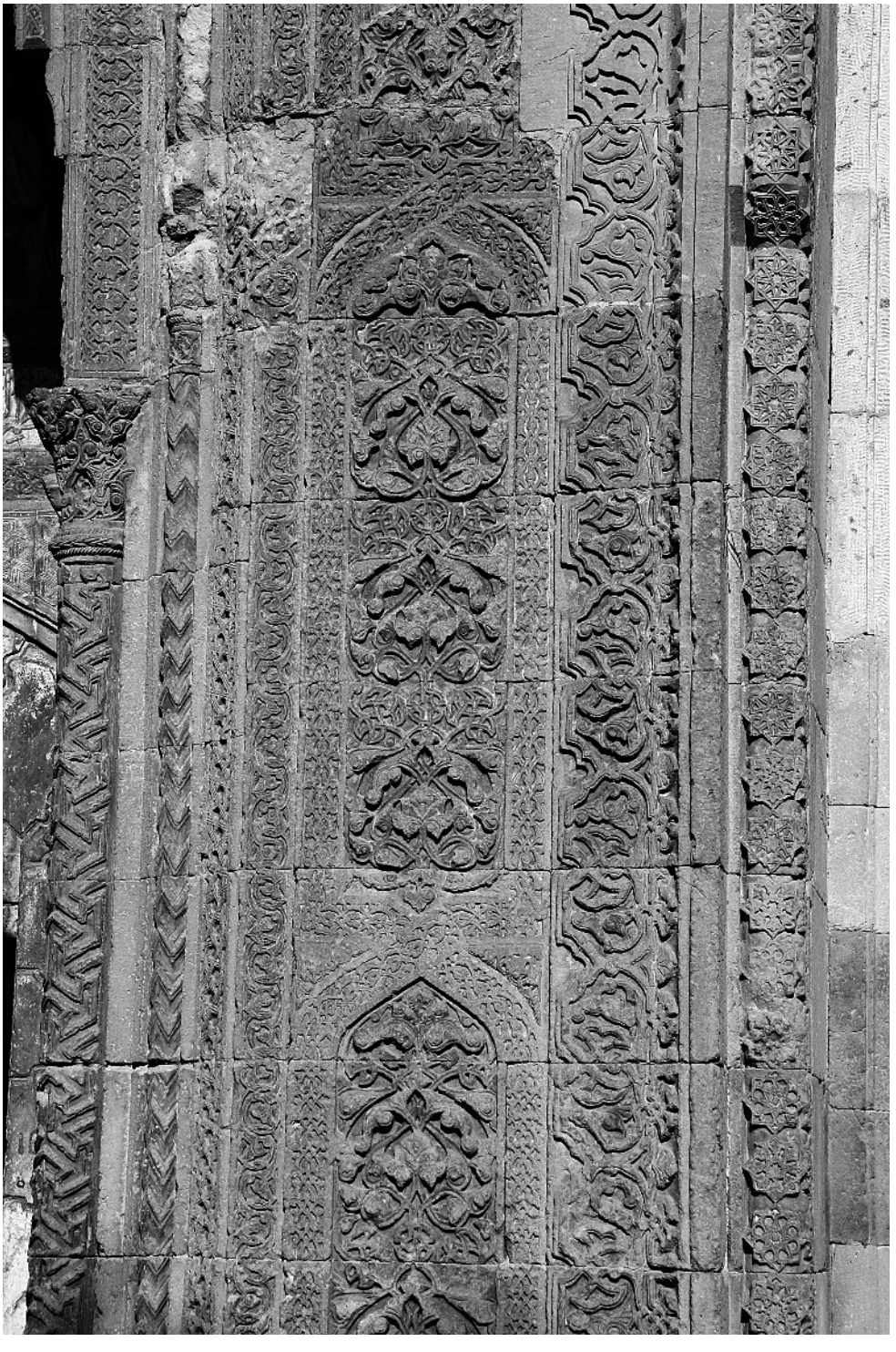
[139] Kuran suggests, unfortunately without indicating a source, that the patron was one of the eunuchs in the harem and connected to Īldūs Khātūn: Kuran, *Anadolu Medreseleri,* 128.

[140] "(1)Waffaqa ʻllāhu ʻazza sulṭānuhū bi-ʻimāra dār ʻl-shifāʼ ʻl-mubāraka fī ayyām (2) ʻl-dawla ʻl-sulṭān ʻl-muʻaẓẓam ʻl-khāqān ʻl-aʻẓam Ghiyāth al-dunyā wa-l-dīn Uljāytū sulṭān Muḥammad khallada allāhu sulṭānahū wa-ayyāma ʻizza ʻl-khātūn ʻl-muʻaẓẓama malika ʻl-ʻakābir (3) Īldūs Khātūn zayadat dawlatuhā ʻl-ʻabd ʻl-ḍaʻīf ʻAnbar bin ʻAbdallāh taqabbala ʻllāhu minhī fī sana thamān wa-sabʻamāʼia." My transcription and translation after *RCEA*, no. 5238.



4.10 Bimarhane, Amasya, detail of portal, author's photograph

4.11 Torumtay Mausoleum, Amasya, carved decoration, author's photograph

The Bimarhane's decoration once again reveals strong local references, though the smaller number of surviving monuments in Amasya, compared to Sivas or Erzurum, makes a detailed analysis more difficult. Some elements of the portal decoration can be observed on other buildings in Amasya, especially on the Torumtay Mausoleum, built in 677/ 1278. The patron of this mausoleum was a powerful local *amīr*, who even became a governor under Ilkhanid rule and who died in 679/ 1280.[141] The Torumtay Mausoleum is located just across from the portal of the Gök Medrese Mosque (an undated building, not to be confused with the Gök Medrese in Tokat and the eponymous monument in Sivas), so close to it that it is very difficult to view the façades of either monument. In its cubic form, the mausoleum is unique in the region, where the most common funerary monuments are cylindrical structures with a conical roof. In terms of decoration, the Torumtay Mausoleum in Amasya is especially notable for a square field composed of rows of plastically carved palmette motifs (Figure 4.11) on the façade facing the Gök Medrese Mosque, although here, the palmette motifs jut out from the surface of the wall.

In the Bimarhane, these same motifs appear in the spandrels of the niches on either side of the portal and on the broadest frame surrounding the doorway, albeit in flat rather than plastic carving in the latter case. Moreover, the outermost frame of the doorway, composed of stars and crosses, may refer to the use of these same motifs on the north portal of the Great Mosque of Divriği (626/ 1228–29), discussed in

[141] Kayaoğlu, "Turumtay Vakfiyesi:" 91–3.

Chapter 2 as one of the sources of inspiration for the stone carvings on the Buruciye Medrese and Çifte Minareli Medrese in Sivas. As a second reference to the region of Sivas, the badly deteriorated human figure, depicted in a cross-legged stance on the keystone of the doorway, may be connected to similar figures on the Şifaiye Medrese in Sivas (611/ 1216–17). These regional references may have been deliberate; however, they may also point to the existence of styles that were present within relatively limited geographical perimeters: late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century monuments in Amasya show parallels with Sivas and Tokat, but not with the more distant Konya. Patronage and construction activity in early fourteenth-century eastern Anatolia seems to have been characterized by decreased mobility compared to the first half of the thirteenth century.

Conclusion

Only a few *waqf* documents have survived from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and many of these are actually later copies. Moreover, only in rare cases can these surviving documents be connected to extant monuments, and this identification is often rendered even more difficult by later changes in names. Extant *waqf* documents from the cities of Amasya, Sivas, Tokat, Konya, and Kayseri, dating from between 1290 and 1330, resemble each other most strikingly in terms of the small scale of the foundations to which they refer. This applies both to the buildings that benefitted from the endowment—when identified, they are mausolea or *zāwiya*s—and to the property endowed in the context of the *waqf*. Often, the latter consists of a few villages in the region, small amounts of agricultural land, and, in some cases, a fountain or a spring.

In comparison to *waqfiy*as from the same region established before the 1290s, these endowments are exceedingly small. In earlier endowments, such as those of the Gök Medrese in Sivas (document dated 679/ 1280) and Cacabey Medrese in Kırşehir (671/ 1273), the endowed property, both within the city in question and in the surrounding region, is much more extensive. In the *waqfiya* of the Cacabey Medrese, for instance, the agricultural lands and their locations with regard to the city, roadways, and rivers are described in such detail that they can be used to reconstruct parts of the rural fabric of the region.[142] In the case of the *waqfiya* of the Gök Medrese in Sivas, as the discussion of the monument in Chapter 2 showed, the properties within the city in particular are described in great detail, including their location and adjacent properties.

There are two possible main reasons for the difference in scale of endowments between Ilkhanid Iran and Anatolia: first, it reflects the change in size between monuments built before and after 1280; and second, it is the result of a major shift in patronage. As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, from the 1240s to the 1270s, the powerful *amīr*s, including Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy, Ṣāḥib ʿAṭā Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī, and the *pervāne* Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān, were the main patrons, navigating between the Seljuk

[142] For the document, see: Temir, *Kırşehir emiri Caca oğlu Nur el-Din'in 1272 tarihli Arapça-Moğolca vakfiyesi*; on the endowment, see: Pfeiffer, "Protecting Private Property:" 153–9.

and Ilkhanid rulers. They were wealthy enough to construct major monuments—madrasas in many cases—and to endow them with sufficient property to assure their upkeep for generations to come. By the late 1280s, these figures were all dead, and their fortunes had been dispersed among their heirs. Moreover, the Seljuk sultans had completely lost power, and the administration was entirely in Ilkhanid hands, with governors appointed directly from Iran. These Ilkhanid administrators only rarely founded monuments during their appointments in Anatolia; the case of Jamāl al-Dīn Khwājā Yāqūt, discussed in Chapter 3, with its substantial endowment for a relatively large monument, represents an exception rather than the rule. Thus, while Ilkhanid patrons were active in Anatolia in the early fourteenth century, their presence is often only reflected in isolated structures. Large endowments, such as those established by Nūr al-Dīn b. Jājā and Shams al-Dīn Juwaynī in the 1270s, which may have served to hide assets from the remote court of the Ilkhans, were no longer established, perhaps because there was a new expectation that such endowments should be founded closer to the Ilkhanid center in Tabriz. This appears to have been the case in particular during the rules of Ghāzān Khān and Uljāytū, when the sultans themselves established large complexes, as did their viziers—Rashīd al-Dīn's large foundation near Tabriz, discussed in Chapter 3, for instance.

In Anatolia, local patrons benefitted from the absence of central rule and of an imperially imposed style, relying instead on local resources and workmen. Overall, it appears that in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries in eastern Anatolia patronage moved towards a smaller, localized scale, with patrons building small structures in their own cities and endowing them with whatever property they could afford. The difference in scale is especially striking when compared to Ilkhanid Iran, where large foundations by the sultans and their close entourages were established in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

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Epilogue

The new frontier of Anatolia under Mongol rule

This study provides a new framework for understanding the architecture of late thirteenth-century Anatolia, revealing the complexities of style and construction that have often been obscured by the established, rather uniform narrative of Seljuk architecture. In looking beyond the Mongol conquest into the final days of Ilkhanid rule, this book has shown how eastern Anatolia was a place where architecture, along with the notion of frontier, developed dynamically, and where the notion of the Mongol conquest as a major caesura in the arts does not necessarily apply.

Before the Mongol conquest of Anatolia in 639/ 1243, the Seljuk sultans clearly focused their patronage on central Anatolia, in particular the area between Konya, Aksaray, Kayseri, and Akşehir. Seljuk domination was strongest in this region, which was the most stable territory for investments. As part of a broader project to foster trade, the Seljuk elite also occasionally chose sites of patronage in coastal zones, including the port cities of Alanya and Antalya on the Mediterranean and Sinop on the Black Sea. The southwestern coastal region of Cilicia, which was ruled by Armenian kings until the very end of the thirteenth century, is separated from the plains of central Anatolia by the Taurus Mountains—a geographical barrier that created separate political areas. At the architectural level, the region south of this realm was closely connected to northern Syria, especially after the latter region came under Mamluk rule in the second half of the thirteenth century.

The western regions of Anatolia that never came under Seljuk control, including Bithynia, present a different narrative rooted in ongoing Byzantine control throughout the thirteenth century. Once Turkish Muslim warriors conquered these areas and began to build monuments there, a blend of local Byzantine architecture emerged with very few stylistic elements evoking the Islamic monuments of central and eastern Anatolia.[1] While the western Anatolian monuments were structurally adapted to the needs of Muslim worship, their stylistic hybridity was distinct from that of the structures in central and eastern Anatolia, particularly in terms of the

[1] Suna Çağaptay, "Frontierscape: Reconsidering Bithynian Structures and their Builders on the Byzantine-Ottoman Cusp," *Muqarnas* 28 (2011): 157–93.

prominent use of the Byzantine past as part of a newly emerging architectural memory of place.[2]

Early Ottoman architecture only rarely includes specific references to Anatolia's Seljuk past. In this respect, the Yeşil Cami and Türbe in Bursa (822–27/ 1419–24), with their forms and tiles reminiscent of Central Asia and, less overtly, of the thirteenth-century monuments of Konya, are something of an exception. Overall, their style is more readily explained as an adherence to the International Timurid style, which was introduced by craftsmen who had gone to Central Asia following Timur's campaign into Anatolia and later returned to their homelands.[3] These monuments are not part of the mainstream Ottoman style, which soon converged into an imperial style specifically associated with Ottoman rule. As a new rising dynasty, the Ottomans did not seek to be associated with the Turkish past of the region. Rather, a visual connection to the Byzantine past that evoked the coveted prize of Constantinople was more appropriate for their imperial ambitions, and the Ottomans' conquest of the former Byzantine capital in 1453 provided the ultimate triumph. Within this framework of imperial expansion, eastern Anatolia was not at first a relevant target, and its architecture was not incorporated into the vocabulary of the emerging Ottoman style.

In stylistic terms, thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century monuments in central and eastern Anatolia are less homogenous than studies focusing on the patronage of the Seljuk sultans before the Mongol invasions often imply. In fact, even those monuments built under direct royal patronage are quite diverse in terms of their decoration and structural features. Nevertheless, around 1200, and becoming most evident in the 1220s, a tendency emerged that might have developed into a truly Seljuk style, in the sense of being easily recognizable and closely associated with the ruling dynasty. This emerging style is most clearly apparent in the extensive caravanserais network sponsored by the Seljuk sultans in the early thirteenth century, which remained in use throughout the period covered in this book.

Yet the Mongol conquests interrupted this effort to establish a dynastic style, putting an end to all patronage by Seljuk sultans. A new set of dynamics defined the architecture of the 1240s through to the 1270s: wealthy notables, largely free of political control, were able to build foundations that might not have been possible under the tighter hold of a ruling dynasty that was keenly interested in establishing a unified architectural style. With the decline of the Seljuk sultans, officials who now worked as Mongol vassals had more control of the monuments they sponsored. As funds that the sultans had previously used for infrastructure, such as city walls,

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[2] Robert G. Ousterhout, "The East, the West, and the Appropriation of the Past in Early Ottoman Architecture," *Gesta* XLIII, no. 2 (2004): 165–76; Oya Pancaroğlu, "Architecture, Landscape, and Patronage in Bursa: The Making of an Ottoman Capital City," *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 20/1 (1995): 40–55.

[3] Emerging from the region of Central Asia that is now Uzbekistan, Timur conquered wide stretches of the former Mongol Empire between 771/ 1369 and his death in 807/ 1405. His furthest foray west was the campaign into Syria and Anatolia in 802–04/ 1400–02. See: "Tīmūr Lang," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/timur-lang-COM_1223, accessed 20 February 2014; on the craftsmen's journey, see: Gülru Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman: A Change of Taste in Sixteenth-Century Ceramics," *Muqarnas* 7 (1990): 136–7.

became available the number of personal foundations increased. Moreover, officials now had better access to workshops and craftsmen since the absence of central patronage created a power vacuum. The Mongols confined their control to the fiscal and political level, ensuring that taxes were collected and insurrections were suppressed, leaving architectural patronage to the local administrators. Culturally speaking, the Mongol influence on Anatolia during the late thirteenth century was limited, as the scarce evidence of Mongol patronage shows. The fact that the Mongol imperial realm looked primarily to the East further contributed to consolidating Anatolia's identity as a frontier region. No longer a magnet for scholars and craftsmen, the region became a cluster of borderlands that were difficult for the Ilkhanid sultans and their local representatives to control.

In the mid-1270s, tighter Mongol-Ilkhanid political control over Anatolia resulted in a caesura in architectural patronage: for nearly two decades, no monuments or deeds of endowment were established that have been preserved. Anatolia thus does not seem to have been an important place on the Ilkhanid cultural map, particularly after Ghāzān Khān's conversion to Islam in 692/ 1294. The Mongol elite continued to look to the East, and the Persian-speaking Muslim families at the center of the administration preferred to invest in the geographically closer regions of central Iran and Iraq.

Beginning in the 1290s, monuments began to be built again in Anatolia, mostly on a smaller scale by local patrons in cities such as Tokat, Ankara, and Amasya. Ilkhanid royal patronage, on the other hand, is entirely absent from Anatolia. Instead, once the Ilkhanid rulers began to sponsor Islamic institutions, they concentrated their patronage in the region of Tabriz, which became home to several richly endowed building complexes, including those of Ghāzān Khān and Rashīd al-Dīn. Throughout the decline of the Ilkhanate, beginning in the 1330s and culminating with the end of the dynasty in 1355, eastern Anatolia was a troubled (and troublesome) frontier, with former governors competing for scraps of the Ilkhanid lands, and the Ottomans slowly encroaching from the western regions.

This period of transition requires further study, considering that the apogee of Ottoman rule that ultimately ensued was not a foregone conclusion: the defeat of sultan Bayezid I (r. 791–804/ 1389–1402) by the Central Asian conqueror Timur in the battle of Ankara in 804/ 1402 nearly wiped the Ottomans from the map. They were only able to resume their ascent after the sultanate recovered from this blow following a period of succession struggles.[4] If Mehmed the Conqueror had not reunified the realm, the full-fledged expression of Ottoman imperial power that is evident in the structures by the architect Sinan in the sixteenth century might never have been achieved. Therefore, early modern Ottoman architecture should not be seen as the inevitable result of the evolution of the medieval monuments of Anatolia. Anatolia remained restive throughout the period covered in this book and even beyond, far into the era of Ottoman domination, never really settling down until the second quarter of the sixteenth century.[5] In other words, even when it was

[4] The historical background is discussed in Dimitris J. Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402–1413*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007.

[5] Kafadar, "A Rome of One's Own:" 8.

no longer an external frontier, Anatolia retained certain frontier characteristics—unstable rule, fluid identities, and changing political patterns, and cultural influences.

The complexity of Anatolian architecture was in large part a result of the shifting and permeable borders between the regions around Anatolia, and between the cultures that shaped it throughout the Middle Ages. It cannot be reduced to a simple formula that equates power and imperial architectural style; rather, it was the product of the complex interaction of empire, culture, religion, and intertwined networks of peoples, trade, and politics—of paradigms that shifted the very moment they appeared to become stable. Consequently, assuming a direct and near exclusive correlation between political rule and architectural style in medieval Anatolia (and more generally in regions that functioned according to similar parameters, such as northern India in the eleventh and twelfth centuries) is problematic.[6] The absence of empire and of central control, and the fluidity that this power vacuum created, gave both craftsmen and non-royal patrons more agency to foster connections that they could not have made as easily under centralized rule, resulting in a greater diversity of construction.

A style expressing Anatolian unity never developed in the monuments examined here, dating from the 1240 to the 1330s. The close stylistic analysis of these monuments and their decoration undertaken in this book reveals the nuances of architectural production in Anatolia during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Moreover, the examination of inscriptions, deeds of endowment, and the socio-historical context provides insight into the multiple layers of patronage, artistic agency, cultural interaction, and rule that shaped these monuments. The region remained part of a larger geo-political context, with a specific sense of place rooted in references both to the local past and to surrounding regions. The notion of a region defined by a unified style is an early twentieth-century assumption with no real basis in the realities of medieval frontier regions. Anatolian architecture of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries reflects the region's unstable nature, with styles shifting arbitrarily as architects and craftsmen moved from one city to the next, from one patron to another, and came into contact with new models.

In the Middle Ages, the Seljuks created a sense of place composed of references to the Iranian roots of their dynasty, and to the local Roman and Byzantine past of the region they had conquered. Their architecture reflected imported elements combined with local techniques and materials. This sense of place persisted under the Mongols, when the connection with Iran was renewed, even as it continued to be associated with local elements. Anatolia's integration into the Mongolian world system seems to have encouraged both the importing of elements circulating in the eastern Islamic world, such as Chinoiserie motifs, and the recurring use of local architectural traditions. As a result, in the subsequent centuries, a specifically Anatolian sense of place was not dissolved, but rather continued to be transformed and refined—fertile territory for further research.

[6] Flood, *Objects of Translation.*

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Slides (mostly color) of sites in Turkey, taken by Kurt and Hanna Erdmann.

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1 Çifte Minareli Medrese, Sivas, façade, photograph by Kurt Erdmann,
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2 Karatay Medrese, Konya, interior of dome, author's photograph

3 Sahib Ata Complex, Konya, interior of mausoleum, looking towards the entrance corridor, author's photograph

4 Mausoleum of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Konya, dome, author's photograph

5 Gök Medrese, Tokat, tile inscription in courtyard, author's photograph

6 Çifte Minareli Medrese, Erzurum, detail of minaret base, author's photograph

7 Mausoleum of Uljāytū, Sulṭānīye, Iran. Baroness Marie-Therèse Ullens de Schooten's photograph, HSM UL95.02399, olvwork 475841. Courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University

8 Great Mongol Shahname, Iskandar and the *waqwaq* tree, c. 1330.
Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Purchase, F1935.23

9 Elephants fighting, *Manāfiʿ al-ḥayawān* of ʿUbayd Allāh Jibrāʾīl Ibn Bakhtīshū, Maragha, Iran, 1297–8 or 1299–1300 CE. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS M.500, fol. 13r. Purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913), 1912. Photographic credit: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

10 Mausoleum of Nūr al-Dīn b. Sentimūr, Tokat, window with foundation inscription, author's photograph